

✓ Bible. N.T. English. 1871. Tyndale.

FACSIMILE TEXTS.

THE FIRST PRINTED
ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT.

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED FROM THE UNIQUE FRAGMENT, NOW IN
THE GRENVILLE COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED BY

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TO THE

REV. JAMES STRATTEN.



IN PERPETUAL TESTIMONY

OF HIS

Sacred Eloquence,

Might and Insight in the Scriptures,

AND A

Most faithful and fruitful Ministry

of upwards of Forty-two Years,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

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The First Printed English New Testament.

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM TYNDALE.

"THE true seruaunt and Martyr of God . . . Who for his notable paynes and trauell may well be called the Apostle of England in this our latter age."—JOHN FOX; *Actes and Monumentes*, p. 1224, *Ed.* 1570.

He "put forthe certaine bookes of the olde Testament and the hole newe Testament, into the Englyshe tongue . . . whereby sence thankes be geuen to God, the dore of lyght into the scriptures, hath and dailie is more and more opened vnto vs, the whiche before was many yeares closed in darkenes."—ANONYMOUS WRITER: *Idem*, p. 514, *Ed.* 1563.

PREFACE.

WITH reverence, almost with awe, we here offer to the reader the photographic likeness of a priceless gem in English literature. It is the *unique* Fragment of that first and fountal edition of the English New Testament, to which Mr. Anderson refers as "the veritable origin of all those millions of English Scriptures now being read in so many different and distant parts of the globe—parts, utterly unknown to our immortal Translator, when he sent the sheets to the press—parts, then untrodden by any Englishman—parts, then undiscovered."¹

The first PRINTED portions of any part of the English Scriptures were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, probably separately printed by Tyndale, somewhere on the Continent,² in 1524-5. While there is abundant evidence of the former existence of these two Gospels, no copies of them whatever are now known to be extant. After these, in time, came simultaneously his first two editions of the New Testament—one in Quarto, with glosses or marginal notes; the other in Octavo, without glosses—one of which, perhaps both, were in England in March 1526. Of the Quarto edition, there is only the Fragment, here photo-lithographed, known; of the Octavo, there is one perfect text in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and a portion of another in that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. These three copies, all denuded of their title pages, are the earliest impressions of any portion of the printed Bible in the English tongue, now known to be in existence.

¹ 'Annals of the English Bible,' vol. i., p. 74, *Ed.* 1845.

² The Rev. R. Demais, who is writing a *Life of Tyndale*, which is to appear this year, has noticed that no printer is known to have been at Hamburg about these years.

Looking over the present photo-lithographed Text, the reader will readily mark the total absence of all those distinctions which have always been used for the separation of books, and the discernment from each other of their several editions. It wants the names of TRANSLATOR or EDITOR, of the PRINTER, and the PLACE of printing, together with the DATE of printing. As we now have it, it is an unowned, unavowed fragment of black letter English. There is however an accumulation of evidence, perfectly overwhelming, which assures us, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that this fragment is verily and indeed a part of the *earliest* edition of the *New Testament*, ever printed in the English language. It is our duty here to exhibit this evidence.

At the outset, however, we must limit this testimony to these first two editions only. Afterwards came 'thicker and threefold' into England, editions both of the New Testament and of the Bible. Some of these attempted an accurate authenticity, being produced solely from a love to God and Truth; others were surreptitiously and often carelessly produced by speculators, for the mere sake of money. All these can only be rightly analysed and adjudged in a thorough and complete 'History of the English Bible, both manuscript and printed.' A work yet to be written; though the way has been made smoother by such pioneers as Rev. J. FORSHALL, Sir F. MADDEN; Revs. J. LEWIS, H. COTTON, D.C.L., Canon B. F. WESTCOTT; Messrs. LEA WILSON, C. ANDERSON, G. OFFOR, F. FRY, and others. Such a work would be based upon deep sacred interest. It would record a marvellous story of human heroism and self denial, of untiring effort and labour. It would catalogue all known editions, all accessible early copies, and point out their various differences. And, with it, would be largely interwoven the political and social history of what may be looked upon as our Biblical Century—that hundred years, roughly speaking, of incessant Biblical translation and revision, which was crowned with that literary marvel, the present authorized version. What Froude has done for the Court and Political History of our Reformation; what Macaulay for twenty years later on in our National History; might, with even a more interesting subject—the most interesting of all literary subjects to many—be done for the Story of the Word of God in English. Is any man so bold, so earnest, so devout, as to attempt this work?¹

In adducing this Testimony from original sources, and in eliminating it from the confusion of many conflicting and perplexing statements, it will be convenient to quote each passage, once for all, in its principal place; though it may occasionally anticipate somewhat in time, or contain extraneous matter.

¹ Such a worker may consult with advantage the manuscript transcripts and notes of Mr. Offor, no *Add. MSS.* 26,670-5, in the British Museum.

We may group the evidence—

AS IT RELATES TO THE FIRST TWO EDITIONS.
AS IT VERIFIES THE FRAGMENT, HERE REPRODUCED.

As to the two editions, it may be arranged under—

- I. *William Tyndale's antecedent career.*
- II. *The printing at Cologne.*
- III. *The printing at Worms.*
- IV. *William Roy's connection with these editions.*
- V. *The landing and distribution in England.*
- VI. *The persecution in England.*

As relates to the existing fragment ; there is possibly, only—

- VII. *Typographical and Literary evidence.*

We must also premise, that, in judging of moral actions by the use made of money, we have followed the usual estimate, in a matter so hard to determine absolutely ; that the multiple of Fifteen approximately represents the increased power of the same standard coin in purchasing the necessaries of life (food, raiment, rent, books, and the like), in the reign of Henry VIII., as compared with the present day. So that £10 then, represents £150 now ; 16s. 4d. then, £12 5s. 0d. now ; and so on. We have inserted the modern equivalent, upon this estimate, within [], after every sum mentioned.

I. *William Tyndale's antecedent Career.*

1. Tyndale is believed to have been born either at STINCHCOMB or NORTH NIBLEY, in the hundred of Berkeley, in the county of Gloucester, not earlier than 1484-6 ;¹ where his family, during the wars of the Roses, had for a time adopted, probably for the sake of concealment, the name—variously spelt—of *Hitchins* or *Hotchyns*.

2. The authority for the early life of our great Englishman is John Fox ; in the editions of his *Actes and Monumentes, etc.*, published during his lifetime, viz., 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583 ; and in the account partly extracted therefrom and prefixed to *The Workes of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*, 1573, fol.

¹ Mr. Oade Roberts, of Painswick [d. 1821] in Lysons' 'Topog. Coll.' *Add. MSS.* 9458. *Plut.* fol. 63-66 ; in the British Museum. Mr. Roberts thought that Richard Tyndale, who purchased, in

1561, the estate of Melksham's Court, Stinchcombe, from Thomas, Lord Wentworth, was the Translator's nephew.

A comparison of these editions evidences two narratives. The earlier one is a brief and graphic Memorandum,—probably more correct as to the sequence of events—written from memory by a confidential friend, who had his information from Tyndale's own lips, probably during his stay in London: which Memorandum evidently preserves the very words of Tyndale. The later account is written impersonally, and amplified after Fox's vehement manner. We here place the two side by side.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

Fox gives the following summary of Tyndale's career; which may be taken as expressing his own estimate of the Translator.

This good man William Tyndall the faithfull minister and constant martyr of Christe, was borne vpon ye borders of wales, and brought vp euen of a childe in the vniuersitie of Oxford,¹ being alwayes of moste vpright maners and pure lyfe. This man as sone as he had receyued some taste and sanour of the diuine truth by reading of Luthers bookes,² he thought no labour or traual to be pretermitted to allure and to drawe all other englishmen to the like knowledge and vnderstanding. For the better and more easy accomplishing wherof, he first together with Frith, labored in translating the olde and newe Testament into English, a most hol-some worke for the Englishnation, he wrote also diuers other workes of Sundry tytles, amongst the whiche is that moste worthy monument of his intitled Tobeodience of a christen man, wherin with a synguler dexteritie he instructeth all menue to the office and dutie of christian obedience, with diuerse conflictes and disputations against More and others, no lesse delectable as also frutefull to be read. p. 520. Ed. 1563.

(Here begins the Memorandum of Tyndale's friend.)

First mayster Tyndall beyng in seruice with one maister Welche³ a Knyght, who married a daughter

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

William Tyndall the faithfull Minister and constant Martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a child in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew vp, and increased as wel in the knowledge of tounges, and other liberrall Artes, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures: whereunto his mynde was singularly addicted:² In so much that he lying then at Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certeine studentes and felowes of Magdalene Colledge, some parcell of Diuinitie: instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose maners also and conuersation being correspondent to the same, were such that all they which knew hym, reputed and esteemed hym to be a man of most vertuous disposition, and of life vsupected.

Thus he in the Vniuersitie of Oxford³ increasing more and more in learnyng, and procedyng in degrees of the scholes, spying hys time, remoued from thence to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge,¹ where after hee had likewise made his abode a certaine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leauyng that Vniuersitie also, he resorted to one M. Welche³ a knyght of Gloucester-

¹ The dates of Tyndale's connection with Oxford and Cambridge have not yet been recovered. See Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 94, Ed. 1813, and C. H. and T. COOPER, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. 59, Ed. 1858.

² If Tyndale went a 'child' to Oxford, and was there 'singularly addicted' to the study of Scripture, it must have been long before Luther attacked his ninety-five Theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg (31 October, 1517); which protest first gave him a European reputation. Tyndale may have been confirmed in his opinions by Luther; and we shall see one of the works of Erasmus was so congenial to him that he translated it: but a consideration that he must have been about 30 years of age, and a priest, when Luther attacked the sale of indulgences, is conclusive that he was but following the dictates of his own mind and conscience when in early life he searched after truth in the Revelation of God, and not among the writings of men.

³ Sir John Walsh, son and heir of John Walsh, married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Pointz, and having served the office of high sheriff of Gloucestershire, 18 and 27, H. 8 [*i.e.* 1526 and 1535] died seized of Little Sodbury in the 38th year of the same reign [22 April 1546—28 Jan. 1547], leaving Maurice his son thirty years old, who had the livery of the manor the same year, and married Bridget, daughter of — Vause. S. Rudder, *Hist. of Gloucestershire*, p. 677, Ed. 1779.

Little Sodbury is two miles from Chipping Sodbury, and fifteen from Bristol, on the Bath and Chippenham road. . . . The old church of St. Adeline was a stoue building in the Early English style, with tower, nave, transept, and porch, and situate adjacent to the manor house; but having fallen into decay, a new church was erected in 1859 on a more convenient site, which church, with the addition of a vestry room and north aisle, was as nearly as possible a restoration of the old one. *Kelly's Gloucestershire*, p. 634., Ed. 1870.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

of Syr Robert Pointz, a knyght dwelling in Gloucestr shyre, the sayde Tyndall beyng scholemaister to the sayde maister Welche his children,¹ and being in good fauour with his maister, sat moste commonly at his owne table, whiche kept a good ordinary, hauing resort to hym, many tymes diuerse great benefited men, as Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other diuerse doctors, and learned men. Amongest whome commonly was talke of learning, as well of Luther and Erasmus Roterodamus, as of opinions in the scripture. The saide Maister Tyndall being learned and which had bene a student of diuinitie in Cambridge,² and hadde therein taken degree of schole, did many times therin shewe his mynde and learnyng, wherein as those men and Tyndall did varie in opinions and iudgements, then maister Tyndall would shewe them on the booke the places, by open and manifest scripture, the whiche continued for a certaine season, diuerse and sondry tymes vntyll in the continuance thereof, those great benefited doctors waxed weary and bare a secret grudge in their hartes against maister Tyndale.

So vpon a tyme some of those benefited doctors, had maister Welch and the Lady his wyfe, at a supper or banquet, there hauinge amonge them talke at wyll without any gainsaiyng, and the supper or banquet beyng done, and maister Welche and the Lady his wyfe, came home. They called for maister Tyndall, and talked with hym, of suche communication as hadde bene, where they came fro, and of their opinions. Maister Tyndall thereunto made aunswere agreable to the truthe of gods worde, and in reproving of their false opinions. The Lady Welche being a stoute woman, and as maister Tyndal did reporte³ her to be wise, beyng there no more but they three, maister Welche his wyfe and maister Tyndall.³ Well sayde she, there was suche a doctor, he may dispende CC. pounde [£3000] by the year, an other one hundred pounde [£1500], and an other three hundredth pounde [£4500], and what thynke ye, were it reason that we should beleue you before them so great learned and benefited men.⁴ Maister Tyndall hearyng her, gaue her no aunswere, nor after that, had but small arguments against suche, for he perceiued it would not

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

shyre, and was there scholemaister to his children,¹ and in good fauour with his master. This Gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to hym many times sondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, with other diuers Doctors and great benefited men: who there together with *M. Tyndall* sitting at the same table, did vse many tymes to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of *Luther* and of *Erasmus*: Also of diuers other controuersies and questions vpon the Scripture.

Then *M. Tyndall*, as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so he spared not to shewe vnto them simply and playnly hys iudgement in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any tyme did varye from *Tyndall* in opinions and iudgement, he would shewe them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of ye Scriptures, to confute their erours, and to confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasonyng and contending together diuers and sundry tymes, till at length they waxed wery, and bare a secret grudge in their hartes agaynst hym.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great Doctours had inuited *M. Welche* and hys wife to a banquet: where they had talke at will and pleasure, vttering their blyndes and ignorauce without any resistance or gaysaying. Then *M. Welche* and hys wife comming bome and calling for *M. Tyndall*, began to reason with him about those matters, wherof ye priestes had talked before at theyr banquet. *M. Tyndall* aunsweryng by scriptures, mayntayned the truth, and reproued theyr false opinions. Then sayd the Lady *Welch*, a stout and a wyse woman (as *Tyndall* reported) Well (sayd she) there was such a Doctor which may dispend a C. li. [hundred pounds = £1500] and an other. ij. C. li. [two hundred pounds = £3000] and an other. iij. C. li. [three hundred pounds = £4500] and what? were it reason, thinke you, that we should beleue you before them?⁴ *M. Tyndall* gaue her no aunswere at that time, nor also after that (because he sawe it would not auayle) he talked but litle in those matters. At that tyme he was about the translation of a booke called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*,⁵ which beyng translated, he deliuered

¹ If Maurice, born in 1516, was the eldest born son of Sir J. Walsh, Tyndale's connection with his family as tutor must necessarily have been short; probably at most the two or three years 1521-3.

² Note 1, p. 8.

³ Graphic points showing the narrative to be at first hand.

⁴ What unconscious satire!

⁵ That is, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* [The Pocket Dagger of the Christian Soldier] written by

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

helpe in effect to the contrary. But then did he translate into Englyshe a booke called as I remember *Enchiridion militis Christiani*.² The whiche being translated, deliuered to his maister and Lady. And after they hadde read that booke, those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor when they came, had the cheare nor countenance as they were wont to haue, the whiche they did well perceiue, and that it was by the meanes and incensing of maister Tyndall, and at the last came no more there.

After that, when there was a sytting of the byshops commissarie or chauncelor: And warning was geuen to ye priests to appeare, maister Tindal was also warned to be there. And whether he had knowledge by their threa[t]ning, or yat he did suspect yat thei would lay to his charge, it is not now perfitly in my mynde, but thus he tolde me,¹ that he doubted their examinautions, so that he in his going thetherwardes prayed in his minde hartely to God to strengthen him, to stande faste in the truthe of his worde, so he being there before them, they layde sore to his charge, sayng he was an heretike in Sophistry, an heretike in Logike, an heretike in his diuinitie, and so continueth. But they sayde vnto hym, you beare your selfe boldely of the Gentlemen here in this countrey, but you shall be otherwyse talked with. Theſe maister Tyndal answered them. I am contente that you bryng me where you wyll into anye countrey within England, geuing me x. pound [£150] a yeaere to lyue with. So you bynde me to nothing but to teache children and preache. Then had they nothing more to saye to hym, and thus he departed and went home to his maister agayne.

There dwelt not far of an olde doctour that had bene Archechauncelor to a byshoppe, the whiche was of olde familiar acquaintance with maister Tyndal, who also faoured him well, to whome

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

to his Maister and Lady. Who after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctory Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheare and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thyng they markyng and well perceiuing, and supposing no lesse but it came by the meanes of *M. Tyndall*, refrayned them selues, and at last vterly withdrew themselves, and came no more there.

As this grewe on, the Priestes of the countrey clustring together, began to grudge and storme against *Tyndall*, rayling agaynst hym in alehouses and other places. Of whom *Tyndall* him self in his prologue before ye first booke of Moses. . .

[The entire Prologue is reprinted below.]

It folowed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishops Chancellour appointed, and warnyng was giuen to the Priestes to appeare: amongst whom *M. Tyndall* was also warned to bee there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatynges, or knowledge giuen him that they would lay some thynges to his charge, it is vncerteine: but certein this is (as he hym self declared) that he doubted their priue accusations: so that he by the way in goyng thether wardes, cryed in hys mynde hart[el]ly to God, to gyue him strength fast to stand in the truth of hys worde.

Then when the tyme came of hys appearaunce before the Chancellour, he threatned him greuously, reuilyng and ratyng hym as though hee had bene a dogge, and layd to his charge many thynges, whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bryng forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priestes of the countrey the same tyme were there present. [This is taken from the Prologue: see further on.] And thus *M. Tyndall* after those examinautions escapyng out of their handes, departed home and returned to his master agayne.

There dwelt not farre of a certaine Doctour that had ben an old Chancellour before to a Byshop, who had ben of old familiar acquaintance with *M. Tyndall* and also faoured hym well. Vnto

Erasmus at Audomarum [St. Omer] in 1501. 'It openly taught . . . that the true Christian's religion, instead of consisting in the acceptance of scholastic dogmas, or the performance of outward rites and ceremonies, really consists in a true self sacrificing loyalty to Christ, his ever living Prince; that life is a warfare, and that the Christian must

sacrifice his evil lusts and passions, and spend his strength, not in the pursuit of his own pleasure, but in active service of his Prince.' F. СЕРБОВИЧ, *The Oxford Reformers, etc.*, p. 173, Ed. 1869.

¹ Note 3, p. 9.

² Note 5, p. 9.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

maister Tyndall went and open[ed] his mynde vpon diuerse questions of the scriptures, for he durst boldly open vnto hym his mynde. That auncient doctor saide, do you not knowe yat the Pope is the very Antichrist, whiche the scripture speaketh of, but beware what ye saye, for if you^e shall be perceiued to be of that opinion, it will cost you your lyfe, and sayde, I haue bene an officer of his, but I haue geuen it vp and defie him and all his workes.

And sone after Maister Tyndall happened to be in the companie of a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, droue him to that issue that the learned manne sayde, we were better be without Gods lawe then the Popes: Maister Tyndall hearing that, answered hym, I defie the Pope and all his lawes, and sayde, if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryueth ye plough, shall knowe more of the scripture then thou doest.

[The first account is evidently better here, as it tells us the occasion of this Reply: see above.]

Shortly after that he required his maister Welche of his good wyl to depart from hym, saying to hym, syr: I perceiue that I shal not be suffered to tary long here in this countrey, nor you shalbe able to kepe me out of their handes, and what displeasure you might haue therby is harde to knowe, for the whiche I should be ryght sory. So with the good wyl of his Maister he departed from hym to London, and there taried a while and preached. But it was not longe after but he departed out of the Realme into Germanie, and there put forth certaine bookes of the olde Testament and the hole newe Testament, into the Englyshe tongue, with other diuerse bookes of his owne compillog, the whiche he sent from thence into Englande, wherly

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

whom Maister Tyndall went and opened hys mynde vpon diuers questions of the Scripture: for to hym hee durst bee hold to disclose his hart. Vnto whom the Doctour sayd: do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say: for if you shalbe perceiued to be of that opinion, it will cost you your lyfe, and sayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of hys, but I haue gyuen it vp and defie hym and all hys workes.

It was not long after, but *M. Tyndall* happened to be in the companie of a certayne Diuine recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with hym, hee droue hym to that issue, that the sayd great Doctour burst out into these blasphemous wordes, and sayd: we were better to be without Gods law then the Popes. *M. Tyndall* hearing this, full of godly zeale and not bearyng that blasphemoussaying, replied agayne and sayd: I defie the Pope and all hys lawes: and further added that if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boye that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did.

After this the grudge of the Priestes increasing still more and more against Tyndall, they neuer ceased barkyng and ratyng at hym, and layd many sore thynges to his charge, saying yat he was an hereticke in Sophistry, an hereticke in Logicke, and an hereticke in Diuinitie: and sayd moreouer to hym that he bare hym selfe bold of the Gentlemen there in that country: but notwithstanding, shortly hee should bee otherwise talked withall. To whom *M. Tyndall* aunsweryng agayne thus sayd: that he was contented they should bryng him into any countrey in all England, giuyng him x. li. [*£150*] a yere to lyue with, and byndyng hym to no more but to teach children and to preach.

To bee short, *M. Tyndall* beyng so molested and vexed in the countrey by the Priestes, was constrained to leaue that countrey and to seke an other place: and so commyng to *M. Welche* he desired hym of hys good will, that hee might depart from hym, saying on this wise to hym: Syr, I perceiue I shall not bee suffered to tarye long here in this countrey, neither shal you be habble though you would, to kepe me out of the handes of the spirituallie, and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keepyng me, God knoweth: for the whiche I should be right sory. So that in fine, *M. Tyndall* with the good will of his master, departed and eftsoones came vp to London, and there preached a while, accordyng as hee had done in the countrey

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

sence thanks be genen to God, the dore of lyght into the scriptures, hath and dailie is more and more opened vnto vs, the whiche before was many yeares closed in darkenes. *fp.* 513-4. *Ed.* 1563.

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

before, and specially about the town of Bristowe, and also in the sayd towne, in the common place called Saint Austins Greene.¹
fp. 1224-5. *Ed.* 1570.

3. Earlier than the testimony of the Author of the Memorandum preserved by Fox, is the evidence that comes out in the 'trouble' of Humphrey Monmouth. In answer to twenty-four articles of heresy charged against him, in May, 1528, Monmouth wrote to Wolsey and the Council the following petition, here reprinted from J. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I., Part II., *fp.* 363-7, *Ed.* 1822; who gives it verbatim: the originals themselves are in Harl. MS., 425, Articles 4 and 5.

Unto the most honorable Lord Legate, and Chancellor of England, and to the honorable Council unto your Sufferain Lord, King Henry VIII. the sixth day of May, and in the xxth yere of his raigne; beseching your Grace, and al my lords and masters, to have pitie on me, poor prisoner in the Towre of London, at your pleasure.

THE xiiiith day of May, and in the yere abovesaid, Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, and Sir William Kingeston, Knight, and of the Kinges noble Counsaill, seot for me unto Sir John Dauncies, and of the same Counsaill, and there they examyned me what letters and what books I received lately from beyond the seas, and I said, None, nor never had of trewthe. And what exhibition I did give to any bodie beyond the sea. I said, None in³three yeres past; and examyned me, whether I was acquainted with many persons? Of the which I was acquainted with none of them to my knowledg and remembrance. I told them in iiii yeres past I did give unto a Priest called Sir² William Tyndal, otherwyse called Hotchens. And then Sir Thomas Moore and Sir William Ken[g]lyston had me home to my house, and serched it, and saw al the letters and books in my howse to my knowledg, by my faith; and there they found no lettres that they regarded, nor Ynglish books but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; and they left them with me as they found them. And from thence I went again to Sir John Dauncies, my special good master, and he brought me the same day to the Towre of London, and delivered me unto Sir Edmonde Walsyngham, Kt., and Lyftenant of the Towre.

Upon iiii yeres and a half past, and more,³ I herde the foresaid Sir William preach ii or iiii sermons at St. Donstones in the west, in London; and after that I chaunced to meet with him, and with communication I examyned what lying he had. He said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service. And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord and spake to him, as he told me, and my L. of London answered him, that he had Chaplaines inough, and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme. And so the Priest came

¹ Every preaching trip to Bristol involved a thirty miles' walk, fifteen each way.

² Priests, at this time and previously, received the title of Sir, as a mark of respect; as we now designate laymen, Esquire.

³ This fixes precisely the date of Tyndale's coming to London. He must have begun to preach immediately on arrival. Monmouth spoke with him *before* he applied to Tonstall. 'Four yeres and a halfe past' would be 19th November, 1523: 'and more' would, at the latest, place Tyndale's journey to town in October of that year. He stays with Monmouth six months according to Monmouth's account, who would naturally represent his stay as short as possible: 'almost an yere' he says himself, see page 16.

'In four yeres past' Monmouth did give exhibition unto Tyndale: 'I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow.' Therefore Tyndale left England about May 1524. 'Within a year after he sent for his [other] ten pounds to me from Hamborow, and thither I sent it him'; say about March 1525. Tyndale therefore left Hamburgh for Cologne in the summer of 1525. He probably stayed not long there; but being discovered, he escaped with Roy up the Rhine, and came to Worms about September 1525; and then and there working unremittingly—the actual translation being probably already finished—saw the two editions through the press, by the end of that year.

to me againe, and besought me to help him, and so I took him into my house half a yere: and there he lived like a good Priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night, at his book;¹ and he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnin about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him xl. sterling [£150], to praise for my father and mother there sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow. Afterwards he got of some other men xl. sterling [£150] more, the which he left with me. And within a yere after he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborow: and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke, as I remember is his name, a merchant of the Stilyard. And since I never sent him the value of one peny, nor never wil. I have given more exhibitions to skollers in my dayes, than to that Priest. Mr. Doctor Royston, Chaplen to my Lord of London, hath cost me more than xl. or l. pounds sterling [£600 or £750]. And also Mr. Doctor Wooderal, Provinciall of Friar Austynes, hath cost me as much, or more. Mr. Doctor Watson, Chaplain to the Kings good Grace, hath cost me somewhat, and somewhat I have given to skollers at his request, and to divers priests and fryers: and yf any of those other should chauce to turn, as that Priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them exhibition?

The foresaid Sir William left me an English book, called *Enchiridion*.² The which book the Abbes of Denny desired yt of me, and I sent yt to her. And that howse hath cost me more than l. pounds sterling [£750]. I could reherse many more. I do not say this because I wold be praised, as God knoweth, but because your Gr. and my Lords of the Counsell should know that I have spent more for the love of God, after the counsil of good Doctors, than of that one Priest.

Another book I had of the same copie:² a Frier of Grenwich desired yt of me, and I gave yt him. I think my Lord of Rochester hath it. I had two books in English wrytten; the one was called the *Pater Noster*, an old book.³ How yt came to my howse, on my faith I cannot tel; and the other book is called *De Libertate Christiana*.⁴ I received him of one Arnold, a yong man that is gone into Spaine to a gentleman whose name is Mr. Woodall, that went with Sir John Wingfeld, Kt. Embassador into Spaine. I delivered those two books to the Father Confessor of Sion. And also I delivered him a booke of the N. Testament, the which booke my L. of London had. Also, I had a litle treatise, that the Priest sent me, when he sent for his mony. And all those books, save the books of the N. Testament, laye openly in my house for the space of two yeres or more, that every man might rede on them that would, at their pleasure. I never harde priest, nor fryer, nor lay man find any great fault in them. And so I trust in our Lord God, that your good Grace, nor none of my lords and masters of the Kings noble Councel, wil find any great faults in any of them, when it shal please your Gr. or any of the Councel to read them or hear them. And so I trust in our Lord God I shal be gyttless for any evil books, or any other thing that hath been surmysed wrongfully on me. And yf mine accusers be wel examined, peradventure they should be found more fawly than I shal be, when the trewth shal be known.

I have shewed the booke called *The Enchiridion* to Mr Doctor Watson, and to Mr Doctor Stochouse, Parson of Laname, [Lavenham,] in Suffolk, and to many other, that never found fault in him to my

¹ *i.e.* Studying: but undoubtedly his chief book was the New Testament. 'And even in the bisshope of londons house I entended to have done it,' see p. 16. Once ensconced in Monmouth's house, he appears to have ceased to preach and to have devoted himself unremittingly to the task of translation; and that work he continued—singlehanded doing this great task—for the next two years, as he says, 'even very necessitie and combrance (God is recorder) above strength . . . caused that many thynges are lackynge.' So that there remained but to polish his version; and to see it correctly printed: when Tyndale was able to make arrangements for the secret impression at Cologne, and to obtain Roy's assistance in collating, etc.

² Evidently copies by Monmouth's amanuensis, 'my servant' that 'did write,' of Tyndale's translation of Erasmus' book.

³ Evidently some old English exposition or para-

phrase of the Lord's Prayer. Tyndale, in his *Answer to More* states that the Bishop of London [Fitz James] 'wold haue made the old deane Colet [d. 16 Sept. 1519] of paules an heretyke/ for translatynge the Pater noster in englysh/' had not the bysshope of canterbury holpe the deane.' *fol.* 104. b.

⁴ This is the title of a tract by Luther, first published with his letter to Pope Leo X., dated 6 Sept. 1520, in Latin, at Wittenberg, in 1520, in which year two 4to editions were printed there, one occupying 18, the other 21 leaves. Luther again printed it there in 1521, in an edition of 20 leaves.

The tract is written on these two propositions. 1. *A Christian man is a most free lord of all, subject to none.* 2. *A Christian man is a most dutifull servant of all, subject to all.* Monmouth appears to have had a 'wrytten' English translation of one of these Latin editions.

knowledge; and to the Father Confessor of Syon, and to Mr Martyn, Priest and Parson of Totingebeke. And also the other two books, called the *Pater Noster* and *De Libertate Christiana*, I think they looked them most part over, and they found no fault at them. But in one of them, *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there was in him things somewhat hard, except the reader were wyse. And by my faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them. If I had thought they had not been good, or put any mistrust in any of them, I would not have shewed them openly to so many men as I did. But mine accusers unto your noble Gr. I think did never read them over; and yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them. And yf they had shewed me, that they had been nought or evil books, yf they had been lerned, I would have given credence to them, and done them immediately away. And yf I had then kept them, and they had complayned, then I had bene worthy to have bene punyshed. I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self.

When I harde my Lord of London¹ preach at Pawles Cross, that Sir William Tyndal had translated the N. Testament into English, and was noughtilie translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him. And shortely after, al the lettres and treatyes that he sent me, with dyvers copies of books that my servant did write, and the sermons that the Priest did make at St. Dunstones, I did burne them in my howse. He that did write them did se it. I did burne them for fear of the translator, more than for any yll that I knew by them.

If it like your Grace, for this imprisonment I have utterly lost my name, and also my litle credence, which I had, for ever. The which is the greatest loss, and the more sorrow and shame, that ever I had in my life. I occupy with divers clothe-men in Suffolk, and in other places. The which have wekely some of them, as they send up their clothes, most have their mony. And yf they fail of their monye, they say, they cannot set the poore folks aworke. There is divers clothe-men, the which I buy al their clothes that they make. And yf they should go offer them to sel to other men now at this time, they wold bid them go and sel where they were wont to sel, when the sale was good; and so the poor men should have great loss. I was wont to sel for most part every yere iiiii or v hundred clothes to strangers, which was worth to the Kinges Gr. in his customes, more than though I had shipped over my self five times so many.² I was wont betwixt Chrystmas and Whytsontide to sel most part of them. And of trewthe as yet since Chrystmas, I have sold but xxii clothes, nor I send over none, nor no man axeth for none: I praye God amend it, when yt shal please him. And yf I lye here in prison long, I cannot help my self more, nor none other man but shal be utterly undon for ever: and if your Gr. be not good and merciful unto me. God is merciful, and wil forgive them that be penitent, and axeth forgiveness. I trust in the Lord I have not offended your Gr. nor none of my lords nor masters of the Kinges noble Counsaill, willingly, nor to my knowledg. And yf I have, I besече your good Gr. and al my lords and masters, to forgive me, as you would that God should forgive you.

Yf I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent, and confessed, [I should be forgiven,] by reason of certain pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted when we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holly Father the Pope, a *pœna* and a *culpa*, for certain times in the yere. And that I trust in God I receved at Easter last past; furthermore I received, when your Gr. was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of a *pœna* and a *culpa*; the which I beleve verily, yf I had don never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgiveness. Beseching your Gr. and al my lords and masters to pardon me and to forgive me, as I shal be your poor beadman during my life: and that the bl. Trinite, and our bl. lady Saint Marie, and al the holly company of heaven, may help you al at your most neede in vertue and grace, *Amen*. I besече your Gr. and al my lords and masters, to pardon me of my rude wrytinge and termes. I am unlerned; my witt is no better.

By your poor bedman and prysoner at your Gr's pleasure,

Humfrye Munmouthe, Draper of London.

*In presentia reverendi patris in Christo Cuthberti London Episcopi, Humfridus Monmouth recognovit se scripsisse istas cartas.*³

¹ Tonstall returned from Spain in the first week of April 1526. I am unable to fix the date of this sermon: to which we shall find so many references: it is a central date in this history, and should if

possible be recovered.

² An appeal to the king's pocket.

³ Monmouth, having many friends, was let out of the Tower. He became Sheriff of London in 1535.

Whether this petition represent the religious opinions of Monmouth at its date; or whether it be a most subtle representation of all those of his acts which harmonized most with the shibboleths of the older 'faith'; may now perhaps be hard to determine. But it is clear that henceforth he turned more and more to the Reformation. In his remarkable will, dated 16th November, 1537, is the following provision:—

And I wyl that my Lord Bysshop of Worcester [*i.e.* Hugh Latimer], Doctor Barnes, Doctor Crome, and Mayster Tayllour [All four ultra-Protestants] shal preach in my parysh-church aforesayd [Alhallowes in Barkynge of London], every weck two sermons, tyl they have preached among them xxx. sermons: and I wyl gyve them for every sermonde xiiis. iiiid. [£10]. And yf any of these foresayde persons cannot be there to preach these sermons, than I wyl that the other supplie his place, that shal be absent: so that after they have begonne to preach, (which I wold have them do immediatly after my buryal,) they shal contynue wekely every weke, tyl the said xxx. sermons be al preached, except there be an urgent cause, allowed by myn executours and supervisour, to the contrary. And that this thing may be performed the better, I bequethe to eyther of myn especial and singular good Lords, Syr Thomas Audeley, Knyght, Lord Channellour, and Syr Thomas Crumwel, Knyght, Lord Crumwel, a standyng cup of sylver and gylte, of the value of x. pounds [£150], that they may be good Lords to these foresayd preachers, to helpe them and maynteyne them, that they be suffered to preach the forsayd sermons quietly, to the laud and prayse of Almighty God, to the setyng forth of my Prynces godly and heavenly purposes, to the utter abolysyng and extingting of the usurped and false fayned power of the Bysshop of Rome.—STRYPE, *Eccles. Mem.* I. Part II., p. 369., *Ed.* 1822.

4. Yet still more authoritative, is the account by Tyndale of himself. In what is usually known as his preface to the Pentateuch, but which is actually that to *The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis*, the printing of which book at Marburg was finished on 17th January, 1531; Tyndale cautiously refers to his early life; without naming those of his friends, whom to name would have been to have thrown in prison. We give the preface entire.

W. T. To the Reader.



Hen I had translated the newe testament/ I added a pistle vnto the latter ende/ In which I desyred them yat were learned to amend if ought were founde amyssse. But oure malicious and wylke hypocrytes which are so stubburne and hard herted in their weked abhominacions that it is not possible for them to amend any thinge at all (as we see by dayly experience when their both lyvings and doinges are rebuked with the trouthe) saye/ some of them that it is impossible to translate the scripture in to English/ some that it is not lawfull for the laye people to have it in their mother tonge/ some that it wold make them all heretykes/ as it wold no doute from many thinges which they of longe tyme have falsly taught/ and that is the whole cause wherfore they forbyd it/ though they other cokes pretende. And some or rather every one/ saye that it wold make them ryse ageynst the kinge/ whom they them selves (vnto their damnatyon) never yet obeyed, And leste these temporall rulars shuld see their falschod/ if the scripture cam to light/ causeth them so to lye.

And as for my translation in which they afferme vnto the laye people (as I hauc hearde saye) to be I wotte not how many thousande heresydes/ so that it can not be mended or correcte/ they have yet taken so greate payne to examyne it/ and to compare it vnto that they wold fayne haue it and to their awne imaginacions and iugglinge termes/ and to haue some what to rayle at/ and vnder that cloke to blaspheme the

¹ Thirty sermons remunerated at £10 each, and two silver gilt cups of £150 each, making together £600 devoted to a seven months' protest against the Papacy: such is the benefaction of this

large hearted and openhanded man, who thus bequeathed a legacy of £75 to each of his four favourite preachers, upon the performance of, to them, a congenial and easy duty.

truth/ that they myght with as litle labourē (as I suppose) haue translated the moste parte of the bible. For they which in tymes paste were wont to loke on no more scripture then they founde in their duns or soch like develysh doctryne/ haue yet now so narrowly loked on my translatyon/ that there is not so much as one I therein if it lacke a tyle over his hed/ but they haue noted it/ and nombre it vnto the ignorant people for an heresy. Fynallye in this they be all agreed/ to dryve you from the knowledge of the scripture/ and that ye shall not haue the texte therof in the mother tonge/ and to kepe the world styll in darkenesse/ to th[e] extent they might sitt in the consciences of the people/ thorow vayne superstition and false doctrine/ to satisfye their fylthy lustes/ their proude ambition/ and vsatiable covetuousnes/ and to exalte their awne honoure aboue kinge and emperoure/ yee and aboue god him silfe.

¶ A thousand boke had they lever to be put forth agenste their abhominable doynge and doctrine/ then that the scripture shulde come to light. For as longe as they may kepe that doune/ they will so darken the ryght way with the miste of their sophistrye/ and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations with argumentes of philosophye and with worldly synyltudes and apparent reasons of naturall wisdom. And with wrestinge the scripture vnto their awne purpose cleue contrarye vnto ye processe/ order and meaninge of the texte/ and so delude them in descantynge vpon it with alligories/ and amase them expoundinge it in manye senses before the vlnerned laye people (when it hath but one simple litterall sense whose light the owles can not abyde) that though thou feale in thynne harte and arte sure how that all is false yat they saye/ yet coudeste thou not solve their sotle rydles.

¶ Which thinge onlye moved me to translate the new testament. Because I had perceaved by experyence/ how that it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth except/ ye scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge/ that they might se the processe/ ordre and meaninge of the texte : for els what so ever truth is taught them/ these cunnymes of all truth quench it ageyne/ partly with the smoke of their bottomlesse pytte wherof thou readeest apocalipsis. ix. that is/ with apparent reasons of sophistrye and traditions of their awne makinge/ founded without grounde of scripture/ and partely in jugglinge with the texte/ expoundinge it in such a sense as is impossible to gether of the texte/ if thou see the processe ordre and meaninge therof.

¶ And even in the bisshope of londons house I intended to have done it.¹ For when I was so turnoyled in the contre where I was that I coude no lenger there dwell (the processe wherof were to longe here to reherce) I this wyse thought in my silfe/ this I suffre because the prestes of the contre be vlnearned/ as god it knoweth there are a full ignorant sorte which haue sene no more latyn then that they read in their portesses and missales which yet many of them can scacely read (except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum* in which yet/ though they be never so sorryly lerned/ they pore day and night and make notes therein and all to teach the mydwyves as they say/ and *linwod*² a boke of constitutions to gether tithes/ mortuaries/ offerings/ customs/ and other pillage/ which they calle/ not theirs but/ godes parte and the deuty of holye chirch/ to discharge their consciences with all : for they are bound that they shall not dimynsh, but encrease all thinge vnto the vtmost of their powers) and therefore (because they are thus vlnerned thought I) when they come to gedder to the alehouse/ which is their preachinge place/ they afferme that my sainges are heresy. And besydes yat they adde to of their owne heddes which I never spake/ as the maner is to prolonge the tale to shorte[n] the tyme with all/ and accuse me secretly to the chauncelare and other the bisshops officers/ And in deade when I cam before the chauncelare/ he thretened me greuously/ and revyld me and rated me as though I had bene a dogge/ and layd to my charger wherof there coude be none accuser brought forth (as their maner is not to brunge forth the accuser) and yet all the prestes of ye contre were yat same daye there. As I this thought the bisshope of london came to my remembrance whom Erasmus (whose tonge maketh of litle gnattes greate elephantes and lifeth vpp aboue the starres whosoever geveth him a litle exhibition) prayseth exceedingly amonge other in his annotatyon on the new testament for his great learninge. Then thought I if I might come to this mannes service/ I were happye. And so I gate me to london/ and throw the accoyntaunce of

¹ How Tonstall must have gnashed when he read this, and recalled to mind the person and manner of Tyndale at their interview nearly five years before!

² *The Provincial Constitutions of the English Church*, in Latin, were compiled by William Lynde-

wode, [who became Bishop of St. Davids, 14 Aug. 1442 : was Lord Privy Seal to Henry V. ; and died 21 Oct. 1446] about 1433. It was one of the earliest printed books in England ; and several editions were printed at Paris before 1520.

my master came to sir harry gilford the kinges graces countroller/ and brought him an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of greke in to English/ and desyred him to speake vnto my lorde of london for me/ which he also did as he shewed me/ and willed me to write a pistle to my lorde/ and to goo to him my silf which I also did/ and delivered my pistle to a servant of his awne/ one wyllyam hebilthwayte, a man of myne old accoyntance. But god which knoweth what is within hypocrites/ sawe that I was begyled/ and that that counsell was not the nexte way vnto my purpose. And therefore he gate me no favoure in my lordes sight.

¶ Wherevpon my lorde answered me/ his house was full/ he had mo then he coude well finde/ and advised me to seke in london/ wher he said I coude not lacke a service/ And so in london I abode almoste an yere/ and marked the course of the worlde/ and herde our pratars/ I wold say oure preachers how they hosted them selves and their hye autorite/ and beheld the pompe of oure prelates and how besyed they were as they yet are/ to set peace and vnite in the worlde (though it be not possible for them that walke in darkenesse to continue longe in peace/ for they can not but ether stombe or dash them selves at one thinge or a nother that shall clene vnquyet all togedder) and sawe thinges wherof I deferre to speake at this tyme and vnderstode at the laste not only that there was no rowme in my lorde of londons palace to translate the new testament/ but also that there was no place to do it in all englonde/ as experience doth now openly declare.

¶ Vnder what maner therfore shuld I now submitte this boke to be corrected and amended of them/ which can suffer nothinge to be well? Or what protestacyon shuld I make in such a matter vnto our prelates those subltrune Nimrothes which so mightely fight agenste god and resiste his holy spirite/ enforceynge with all crafte and sotelte to quench the light of the everlastinge testament/ promyses/ and apoyntemente made betwene god and vs: and heapinge the firc wrath of god vppon all princes and rulers/ mockinge them with false fayned names of hypocrysyse/ and servinge their lustes at all poyntes/ and dispensinge with them even of the very lawes of god/ of which Christe him silf testifieth Matthew. v. yat not so moch as one tittle therof may perish or be broken. And of which the prophete sayth Psalme. cxvij. Thou haste commaunded thy lawes to be kepte *meod*/ yat is in hebrew exceedingly/ with all diligence and power/ and haue made them so mad with their ingglinge charnes and crafty persuasions that they thinke it full satisfaction for all their weked lyvinge/ to torment such as tell them trouth/ and to borne the worde of their soules helth and sle whosoever beleve theron.

¶ Not withstandinge yet I submytte this boke and all other that I haue other made or translated, or shall in tyme to come (if it he goddes will that I shall further labour in his heruest) vnto all them that submytte them selves vnto the worde of god/ to be corrected of them/ yee and moreover to be disalowed and also burnte/ if it seme worthy when they have examyned it wyth the hebrue/ so that they first put forth of their awne translatinge a nother that is more correcte.

5. It will help us to understand what manner of man Tyndale was, if we consider the account that Fox gives of him, at a period (some eight or ten years later on, in his *Life*, prefixed to the edition of his *Workes* (London, 1573, fol.) above referred to.

And here to ende and conclude this history with a fewe notes touching his priuate behauiour in dyet, study, and especially his charitable zeale and tender releuing of the poore: Fyrst he was a man very frugal, and spare of body, [Fox had previously stated that Tyndale was 'a man of no great stature'] a great student and earnest laborer, namely in the setting forth of ye Scriptures of God. He reserued or halowed to hym selfe ij. dayes in the weeke, which he named his dayes of pastime, and those dayes were Monday the first day in the weeke, and Satterday the last day in the weeke. On the Monday he visited all suche poore men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwarp, and those well vnderstanding their good exercises and qualities he did very liberally comfort and relieue: and in like maner provided for the sicke and deseased persons. On the Satterday he walked round about the towne in Antwarpe, seeking out enery Corner, and hole where he suspected any poore person to dwell, (as God knoweth there are many) and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or els were aged, or weake, those also hee plentifully releued. And thus he spent his ij. dayes of pastime as he cauled them. And truely his Almose was very large and great: and so it might well be:

for his exhibition that he had yearley of the Englishe merchautes was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed vpon the poore as afore sayd. The rest of the dayes in the weeke he gaue hym wholly to his booke where in most diligently he traueled. When the Sunday came, then went he to soorie one merchaunts chamber, or other, whether came many other merchautes; and vnto them would he reade some one percell of Scripture, eyther out of the olde testament, or out of the new, the which proceeded so frutefully, sweetely and gentely from him (much like to the writing of S. Iohn the Euangelest) that it was a heauenly comfort and ioy to the audience to heare him reade the scriptures: and in likewise after dinner, he spent an houre in the aforesayd maner. He was a man without any spot, or blemishe of rancor, or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man liuing was able to reprooue him of any kinde of sinne or cryme, albeit his righteousnes and iustification depended not there vpon before God, but onely vpon the bloud of Christ, and his fayth vpon the same: in which faith constantly he dyed, as is sayd at Filforde [Vilvorde], and now resteth with the glorious company of Christes Martyrs blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saintes Amen.

Thus much from friends: the next testimony comes from a bitter enemy.

II. *The Printing at Cologne.*

Great allowance must be made in considering this hostile testimony, in respect both to the ignorance and the animus of Roman Catholic writers, in matters connected with the vernacular translation of the New Testament. Guessing causes for that, the occasion of which they were ignorant of, they hazarded all manner of statements contrary to the fact; while as to motives, they could see, or at the least would acknowledge little that was upright and noble in the Reformers. Making, however, all necessary deductions, we shall recover much valuable information through these antagonistic writers.

1. JOHN DOBNECK, surnamed COCHLÆUS, an incessant pamphleteer, and virulent antagonist to Luther, in a controversy with Alexander Ales of Scotland, as to the free reading of the Scriptures, printed a letter to James V. of Scotland, (Colophon dated Dresden, vi. Idus Junij [10 June] 1533,) of which the title is *An expédiat laicis, legere Noui Testamenti libros lingua vernacula?* 'Whether it be expedient for the laity to read the books of the New Testament in the native tongue?' In which occurs his earliest printed reference to the secret printing at Cologne.

COCHLÆUS' FIRST ACCOUNT.

Etenim ante annos octo, duo ex Anglia Apostatæ, qui Vuittenbergæ Teuthonicam edocti linguam, Lutheri nouum testamentum in linguam Anglicanam uerterant, Coloniam Agrippinam uenerunt, tanquam ad urbem Angliæ uiciniorē, mercatuque celebriorem, et nauigijs ad transmittendum aptiorem, ibique post rusticorum tumultum aliquamdiu¹ lati-

TRANSLATION.

And indeed eight years ago, two apostates from England, who having learnt the German language at Wittenberg had translated Luther's New Testament into English, came to Cologne, being a city nearer to England, more frequented by commerce, and better furnished with boats for conveyance: and there, living in concealment for some time¹

¹ 'The revolt of the peasants began on 10th July, 1524.' It 'spread with inconceivable rapidity from

Suabia to the districts on the Rhine, and into Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. All these countries

COCHLÆUS' FIRST ACCOUNT.

tautes, conduxerunt sibi in occulto Chalcographos, ut mox primo aggressu tria milia exemplarium imprimerent, Cumque eo in opere alacriter ingenti spe procederent, iactitabant conscej Bibliopolæ et Chalcographi, totam Angliam breui fore Lutheranam, uelint nolint Rex et Cardinalis. Id ego intelligens, premonui quosdam Anglorum Regi fideles, qui et senatus autoritate malignam illorum machinationem interceperunt, et Regem tanti periculi per literas admonuerunt. Vnde factum est, ut ea iacula, foeliciter præuisa, non potuerunt ferire incautos, de quibus tantopere gloriati fuerant Lutherani. A. vi.

2. Cochlæus wrote *De matrimonio serenissimi Regis Angliæ, Henrici Octavi, Congratulatio disputatoria* (Colophon dated Lipsiæ, Feb. 1535): to which Sir Richard Morison replied in his *Apomaxis Calumniarum J. Cochlæi contra Henry VIII.* (Colophon dated London 1537): to which work Cochlæus rejoined with *Scopa in arcanis Richardi Morysini Angli* (Colophon dated Lipsiæ, March 1538). In this last work, Cochlæus again alludes to the printing at Cologne.

COCHLÆUS' SECOND ACCOUNT.

Ego uero Morysine Regem tuum non segniter laudau, dum laude digna faceret. Et possem profectò multo iustius ei ingrati tudinis dicam scribere, quam tu Cæsari nostro Opt. ac sanctiss. Principi. Nam anno Domini M.D.XXV. cum essem pauper et exul per seditiosos plebis et rusticorum tumultus, Colonix constitutus, non solum indicaui ei per epistolam priuatam occultas duorum Anglorum contra regnum suum machinationes improbas, quibus Lutheri Testamentum nouum in Anglicanam linguam uersum, Colonix excedebatur, ut in Angliam in multis milibus occulte transmitteretur, Verum etiam et publice nuncupau ei subsequente mox altero anno XII. libros Ruperti Tuitiensis in Apocalypsim Ioannis, et librum plurium eiusdem Ruperti opusculorum bene compactum, dono transmissi. Ipse uero ad hæc omnia perpetuò mutus ad me ac dissimulator permansit, paupertatis et exilij mei prorsus immemor, licet eo tempore Lutheranzæ sectæ infensissimus esset hostis et aduersarius. Vt mihi tunc suomet iudicio non minus pro illo indicio meo de duobus Anglis, in regui tranquillitatem male machinantibus, debuerit, quam

TRANSLATION.

after the riots of the peasantry, they secretly hired printers to print at first 3000 copies. As they proceeded eagerly and hopefully in the work, the booksellers and printers who knew of it boasted that the whole of England would shortly be Lutheran, whether the king and cardinal wished it or not. Hearing of this, I warned some faithful servants of the king of England, who by authority of the senate intercepted the evil design and warned the king by letter of the danger. Thus it happened, that these weapons, happily foreseen, could not strike unawares the people of whom the Lutherans had boasted so highly.

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

But, Morysine, I was not slow to praise your King, when he did things that were worthy of praise; and I could immediately write against him a charge of ingratitude, much more justly than you can against our excellent Emperor and most sacred Prince. For in the year of our Lord MDXXXV. when I was poor, and by the seditious of the people and tumult of the rustics settled an exile of Cologne, not only did I discover to him, by a private epistle, the secret wicked machinations of two Englishmen against his kingdom, by whom the New Testament (of Luther) translated into the English language, was printed at Cologne, that it might be transmitted secretly, in many thousands into England; But I also forthwith, in the next year, publicly dedicated to him xii. Books of Rupert of Deutz, on the Apocalypse of John, and I sent him, as a present, a book, well bound, consisting of the greater part of the small works of the said Rupert. But, notwithstanding all these things, he still remained silent, and took no notice of me, altogether unmindful of my poverty and exile, although at that time he was a most determined enemy and opposer of the

had revolted in January, 1525.' D'Aubigné, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ii. 343; *Ed.* 1855. The revolt was finally suppressed by the defeat, on 15th May,

1525, of the peasants, by Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse. Cochlæus places Tyndale's residence at Cologne some time after the tumults.

COCHLÆUS' SECOND ACCOUNT.

Mardochæo debuit Assuerus pro iudicio quod is de duobus Eunuchis Regi periclitanti per Hester insinuauerat. B. ij.

3. But the fullest account of the secret impression given to us by Cochlæus is in his history *De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, printed at St. Victor's Mount, a monastery near Mayence [Moguntium] 1549, wherein under the year 1526¹ occurs the following most important passage.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

Verum Duo Angli Apostatæ, qui aliquandiu fuerant Vuittenbergæ,² non solum quærebant subuertere Mercatos suos, qui eos occulte in exilio fouebant et alebant : Verum etiam cunctos Angliæ populos, uolente nolente Rege, breui per nouum Lutheri Testamentum,³ quod in Anglicanam traduxerant linguam, Lutheranos fore sperabant. Venerant iam Coloniæ Agrippinam, ut Testamentum sic tractatum, per Typographos in multa Milia multiplicatum, occulte sub alijs mercibus deueherent inde in Angliam. Tanta enim eis erat rei bene gerendæ fiducia, ut primo agressu peterent a Typographis, Sex Milia sub prælum dari. Illi autem subuerentes, ne grauissimo afficerentur damno, si quid aduersi accideret, tantum Tria Milia⁴ sub prælum miserunt : Quæ si feliciter uenderentur, facile possent imprimi denuo. Iam literas ad Sanctos, qui sunt in Anglis, præmiserat Pomeranus,⁵ et ad Regem quoque scripserat ipse

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

Lutheran sect. So, then, even in his own estimation, he was indebted to me, for that discovery of mine, concerning the two Englishmen, plotting wickedly against the peace of his kingdom, not less than Ahasuerus was indebted to Mordecai, for the discovery, which, through Esther, he unbosomed to the King, when in jeopardy from his two eunuchs. *Annals of the Eng. Bible* : i. 61. *Fd.* 1845.

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

Two English apostates, who had been sometime at Wittenberg,² sought not only to subvert their own merchants (who secretly favoured and supported them in their exile,) but even hoped that, whether the king would or not, all the people of England would in a short time become Lutherans, by means of the New Testament of Luther,³ which they had translated into the English language. They had already come to Cologne, that thence they might convey, secretly, under cover of other goods to England, the Testament so translated, and multiplied by printers into many thousands. For they had so much confidence of managing the business well, that, at the first onset, they asked from the printers six thousand to be given from the press. But fearing lest they should meet with a very heavy loss, if anything happened unfortunately, they only put three thousand⁴ to the press; which, if they should happily be sold, could with ease be printed

¹ Cochlæus, writing 23 years after the event, summarises events from their perspective at that distance of time. He groups matters together which occurred over a period of several years, as if they were but the stages in a vast preconceived plot, so subtle and far-reaching as to require even diabolic powers of invention and construction: instead of, as in truth and fact, the uncombined efforts of many men who strove to bring the system of which he was the advocate, down to the dust. The date 1526 is no contradiction, for his main story is the publication of the works of the Abbot Rupertus, the publishing of which at Cologne began in 1526: his notice of the New Testament being but episcopal.

² It is to be noted that Cochlæus did not know even the names of Tyndale and Roy, much less their previous history. Therefore he supposes that these two 'apostates' had been first with Luther: which is quite contrary to the fact. There is nothing to show that Tyndale ever saw Luther.

He denied that he was confederate with him. Both Reformers were apparently quite independent of work.

³ How could Cochlæus know this, when he never saw a sheet of the impression? Luther's German version first appeared in Sept. 1522.

⁴ This fixes the final number of the Quarto impression: of which the present fragment is the only known relic.

⁵ The title of this short letter (4 leaves) is *Epistola Ioannis Bugenhagenii Pomerani ad Anglos*. Wittenberg, MDXXV. The *ad Sanctos*, &c., quoted by Cochlæus, is found in the heading *Ioannes Bugenlagius Pomeranus Pastor Ecclesie Wittenbergensis Sanctis in Christo qui sunt in Anglia*. The essence of this letter is the following, taken from the first English edition 1536. "And because thou shalt not excuse thyself with the diuersyte of doctrynes, to be shorte, we teach but one article, though we preach much daylye, and wryte much,

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

Lutherus.¹ Cunque nouum Testamentum mox subsequaturum crederetur, tanta ex ea spe lætitia Lutheranos inuasit, ac uanæ fiduciæ uento inflauit, ut gaudio distenti, ante diem ruperint secretum uanis iactationibus.²

Exulabat eo tempore Colonia Ioannes Cochlæus, Decanus Ecclesiæ B. Virginis Francofordensis, Qui per hospitem suum, Georgium Lauer, Canonicum ad Apostolos, Abbati Tuitiensi redditus familiariter notus, ubi audisset opera quædam Ruperti Tuitiensis quondam Abbatiss, mittenda esse Nurembergam, ut a Lutheranis æderentur in publicum: cœpit summo studio eam rem et dissuadere et impedire. Nam Lutherani in eum usque diem, cum omnes Bibliothecas antiquas diligentissime exquisiuisissent ac discussissent, nullum prorsus autorem ex cunctis tot sæculorum Doctoribus Ecclesiæ inuenire potuerunt, qui Lutheri dogmata comprobasset. Inuentum tandem illius Ruperti, qui ante 400. annos uixerat, opusculum, cui titulus erat, De Victoria uerbi Dei,³ mox Nurembergæ a Lutheranis euulgatum est. Quod suo titulo ita mox placuit omnibus Lutheranis, ut nihil uideretur eo autore desiderabilis. Interim ex Trithemio intelligebant, illum complura scripsisse opuscula, sed duo tantum paruula inuenerant: Quorum unum de potentia, alterum de uoluntate Dei inscriptum erat. In eorum æditiõne multa Lutherice apposuerat Osiander, uxoratus presbyter et prædicator, quibus pium autorem impiæ sectæ patronum facere tentabat. Et iam dudum egerant cum ipso Abbate Tuitiensi: ut reliqua Ruperti Opera Nurembergam excudenda, transmitteret. Ille uero, ut à Cochlæo audiuit, quantum periculi foret ea in re, si pium autorem traderet in manus impiorum, qui eum non solum impijs præfationibus, et annotationibus fœde contaminaturi essent: Verum etiam integros et sanos illius sensus deprauaturi, ex Catholico antiquo facturi essent hæreticum nouum, qui uideretur cuncta Lutheri dogmata ante annos 400.

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

anew. Already Pomeranus had sent forward letters to the saints who are in England,² and Luther himself had also written to the King.¹ And when it was believed that the New Testament was about to follow by and bye, so great joy from that hope seized the Lutherans, and inflated them with the wind of vain confidence, that, filled with delight, they, with their vain boasting, broke the secret before its time.³

At that time John Cochlæus, Deacon of the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Frankfort, lived as an exile, at Cologne, who, by his host George Lauer, Canon to the Apostles, [became] intimately acquainted with the Abbot of Deutz, when he heard that certain works of Rupert, formerly an Abbot of that Abbey, were to be sent to Nuremberg, that they might be published by the Lutherans, he began, with the greatest eagerness, both to dissuade from, and to hinder that business. For the Lutherans, even to that day, after they had diligently searched and turned over all the ancient Libraries, could find no author of all the Doctors of the Church for so many ages, who could have approved of the doctrines of Luther. At last a little work of that Rupert, who had lived 400 years before, was found. The title of it was 'of the Victory of the Word of God.'⁴ And it was forthwith published by the Lutherans; because, by its title, it so directly pleased all, that nothing more desirable could be seen than that author. In the meantime, they understood from Trithemius, that he had written many little pieces, but they had found only two; of which one was inscribed 'of the power,' the other 'of the providence' of God. In their edition, Osiander, a married priest and preacher, applied many things after the manner of Luther, by which he attempted to make the pious author the patron of that infamous sect; and now they were treating with the Abbot of Deutz himself, that he might send the rest of the works of Rupert to Nuremberg, to be printed. He, however, as soon as he heard from Cochlæus what great danger there would be in that matter, if he delivered the pious author into the hands of the impious, who were about, not only to

and do many thynges for our aduersaries, that they also maye be saued. And this is the artykle, namely: ¶ *Christ is oure ryghtiynesse.* For he is become vnto vs of God the father, wysdome, iustice, satisfaction, and redemption.¹

¹ On 1 September 1525. Cochlæus puts the printing at Cologne after this date: at all events his discovery of it was so.

² Note 5, p. 20.

³ Cochlæus, erroneously attributing a concerted plan to all the Protestants, has great glee over his

discovery. His representation here is quite false. It was a drunken printer, not the Lutherans, that betrayed the secret.

⁴ This edition was printed by Frederic Peypos, and finished in March, 1525, in 8vo; therefore Cochlæus first made the acquaintance of the Abbot of Deutz some time after that month. Cochlæus edited another in 4to at Cologne: the date of his dedication to the Bp. of Ely in which is iv. Idus Aprilis [to April] 1529.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

approbasse. Abbas igitur ille, vir bonus, mutata sententia uolumina iam in grandem fascem compacta, uelut Nurenbendam transmittenda, apud se retinuit. In quo sane fascie erant XIII. libri in Euangelium Ioannis,¹ XII. libri in Apocalypsim¹ eiusdem, et XII. libri, de Diuinis Officijs.²

Cum autem Monachi quieturi non essent, nisi æderentur opera illa: Cochlæus Petro Quentellio, et Arnoldo Berckmanno sedulo suasit, ut communibus inter se impensis et lucris ea opera susciperent ædenda. Persuadere tamen non potuit, donec tandem omnem suam operam ad æditionem illam² eis pollicitus esset. Cunque æditio illa² satis quaestuosa eis existeret, non egebant amplius impulsore Cochlæo, sed ipsimet ultro plura illius opuscula desiderabant: rogantes nunc Abbatem, nunc Cochlæum, ut undecunque plura conquirerent. Abbas itaque ex uetustis S. Benedicti Monasterijs perquisiuit XXXII. libros in XII. prophetas minores,¹ et VII. libros in Canticum Canticorum.¹ Cochlæus uero inuenit Coloniae in Bibliotheca Maioris Ecclesiae IX. libros, De glorificatione Trinitatis, et processione Spiritus sancti.¹ Et in scholis Artium grande uolumen, quod de operibus Trinitatis¹ inscriptum, XLII. complectebatur libros. E quibus in Gesesim erant IX. In Exodum IIII. &c.¹ Cunque sciret Rupertum

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

basely contaminate him by impious prefaces and annotations, but even to pervert his upright and sound opinion, and of an ancient catholic were about to make a new heretic, who, four hundred years before, should seem to have approved of all the dogmas of Luther. The Abbot, therefore, good man, having changed his opinion, kept by himself volumes, already packed up into a large bundle, ready to be conveyed to Nuremberg. In this bundle there were fourteen books on the Gospel of John,¹ twelve on the Revelations,¹ and twelve books 'De Diuinis Officijs.'²

When, however, the monks were not to be at rest, unless they published these works, Cochlæus earnestly entreated Peter Quentel and Arnold Byrckman that they should, on their joint expense and profit, undertake their publication; notwithstanding, he could not persuade them, till at length he had promised them, to that² edition, all his own labour. When that became sufficiently profitable to them,² they no more required Cochlæus to urge them, but themselves, of their own accord, sought out more of his small works, requesting now the Abbot, and then Cochlæus, that they might search for more of them in any quarter. The Abbot, therefore, thus excited, diligently searched out of the old monasteries of St Benedict, thirty-two books on the twelve minor Prophets,¹ and seven on the Song of Solomon.¹ Cochlæus found at Cologne, in the library of the Greater Church, nine books concerning the Glorification of the Trinity,¹ and the procession of the Holy Spirit;¹ and in the School of Arts a large

¹ The Commentaries of Rupertus were first printed in this order.

(1) COLOGNE. 13 Books on Matthew, with 9 Books on the Trinity, etc. Cochlæus' dedications are dated 20 April and 3 July 1526. Col. dated *Pridie Idus Junias* [12 June] 1526.

(2) NUREMBERG. 12 Books on John (*Protestant edition*). Col. dated July 1526.

(3) COLOGNE. The same (*Catholic edition*). Col. dated simply 1526.

(4) COLOGNE. 12 Books on the Apocalypse. Col. dated 1526. There is no printed dedication to Henry VIII. as stated by Cochlæus: see *p.* 10.

(5) COLOGNE. 7 Books on the Song of Solomon. Dedicated by Henry, Abbot of Deutz, to Tanstall, Bishop of London, *pridie Octobres* [30 Septem.] 1526. Col. dated 1527.

(6) COLOGNE. 12 Books on the Minor Prophets. *Pio Lectori* dated 3 Sept. 1527. Col. Sept. 1527.

(7) COLOGNE. 12 Books on the works of the Holy Trinity. Ded. to Wolsey, dated 3 Sept. 1528. Col. dated Sept. 1528.

From this it is clear that Cochlæus is summarizing, in the text, the whole of these transactions rather than narrating, in consecutive order, the occurrences of the one year 1526.

² Special attention should be paid to the first edition of this work: Cologne, 1526. It is printed in the same style as the present Fragment, with large black type for the headings and first lines of each book, as is here done to each chapter; but the small type is not the same. It is, however, very valuable as containing Cochlæus's dated dedication to Herman, Archbishop of Cologne: 'Ex COLONTIA, iij. Idus Martias [13 March] d. xxvii.' Up to that date at least Cochlæus had not left that city. It was also the success of this book that stirred Quentel and Byrckman to seek out the other works of Rupert of Deutz. The search detailed in the text must therefore have occurred between 13 March and 20 April 1526, when Cochlæus wrote his dedication dated *Ex MOGUNTIA, 22 Calendas Maias* 1526, of the 9 books 'on the Trinity' to Bp. Fisher: see *fol.* 200. Cochlæus was also at Mayence on 3 July following, when he dedicated the 12 Books *In Matthæum*, to the Archbp. of Capua: see *fol.* 200 of the same book. It would therefore appear that it was while assisting in the publication of *De Diuinis Officijs*—the earliest book of Rupert, printed at Cologne—that Cochlæus obstructed the secret printing of the English Testaments. Tyndale therefore certainly left Cologne before April 1526.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

olim Leodij ad S. Laurentium fuisse Monachum, scripsit Theoderico Hezio, Canonico Leodiensi, quem Romæ post obitum Adriani VI. (cuius ille à Secretis intimus extiterat) familiaris cognouerat, obsecrans, ut is in eo Monasterio perquireret, quidnam ex Ruperti libris extaret. Ille ergo reperit maxime desideratum opus, XIII. libros in Mathæum, de Gloria et honore filij hominis. Verum transmittere Coloniæ non potuit Archetypum, nisi ipse cum duobus alijs Canonicis, pro restituendo exemplari, cuncta bona sua in hypothecam Monachis obligarent.

Ea igitur uolumina uniuersa Cochlæus, Moguntiam euocatus, secum detulit, atque ibi residens, ad ædificationem præparauit, Coloniæque ædenda remisit.¹

Hinc Typographis Coloniensibus notior ac familiarior factus, audiuit eos aliquando inter pocula fiducialiter iactitare, Velint Noliut Rex et Cardinalis Angliæ, totam Angliam breui fore Lutheranam. Audiuit item, duos ibi latitare Anglos, eruditos linguarumque peritos et disertos, quos tamen uidere aut alloqui nunquam potuit. Vocatis itaque in hospitium suum quibusdam Typographis, postea quam mero incalescent, unus eorum in secretiori colloquio reuelauit illi arcanum, quo ad Lutheri partes trahenda esset Anglia. Nempe uersari sub prælo Tria Milia Exemplarium Noui Testamenti Lutherani, in Anglicanam linguam translati, ac processum esse iam usque ad literam Alphabeti K, in ordine Quaternionum. Impensus abunde suppeti à Mercatoribus Anglicis, qui opus excusum clam inuecturi per totam Angliam latenter dispergere uellent, antequam Rex aut Cardinalis rescire aut prohibere possit.

Cochlæus intra se metu et admiratione uarie affectus, foris mirabundus mororum dissimulabat. Altero autem die, periculi magnitudinem tristis secum expendens, cogitabat, quo nam pacto possit commode pessimis illis conatibus obistere. Abijt igitur clam ad Hermannum Rinck, Patricium Coloniensem, ac Militem Auratum, qui et Cæsari et Regi Angliæ familiaris erat et Consiliarius, eique rem omnem, ut acceperat uini beneficio, indicauit. Ille, ut certius omnia constarent, alium misit exploratum in eam domum, ubi opus excudebatur

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

volume [which was inscribed 'of the works of the Trinity' and comprised forty-two books, of which nine were on Genesis, four on Exodus, &c.] When, however, he learnt that Rupert was formerly a Monk of St Laurence at Liege, he wrote to Theodorick Hezius, a Canon of Liege, whom he had known intimately at Rome, after the death of Adrian VI. [Sep. 1523], whose private secretary he had been, entreating that he would search out in that monastery whatever remained of the books of Rupert. He found, therefore, a work greatly esteemed—thirteen books on Matthew 'of the glory and honour of the Son of Man.'¹ He could not, however, send the original to Cologne, except he, with two other Canons, would pledge in security to the monks all their goods, for the restoration of the copy!

All these volumes, therefore, Cochlæus, being called away to Mentz, carried with him, and while residing there prepared them for publication, and sent them back, to be published at Cologne.¹

Having thus become more intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, he sometimes heard them confidently boast, when in their cups, that whether the King and Cardinal of England would or not, all England would in short time be Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned, skilful in languages, and fluent, whom, however, he never could see or converse with. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging, after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse, discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther—namely, That three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and already were advanced as far as the letter K, in *ordine quaternionum* [i.e. in quarto]. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants; who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the King or Cardinal could discover or prohibit it.

Cochlæus being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief, under the appearance of admiration. But another day, considering with himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in mind by what method he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts. He went, therefore, secretly, to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne and Military Knight, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the wine, he had received it. He,

¹ Note 1, p. 22.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

iuxta indicium Cochlæi. Cumque ab illo accepisset rem ita habere, et ingentem Papyri copiam ibi existere: adiit Senatam, atque effecit, ut Typographis interdiceretur, ne ultra progredierentur in eo opere. Duo Apostatæ Angli, arreptis secum Quaternionibus impressis, aufugerunt, nauigio per Rhenum ascendentes Vuormacium, ubi plebs pleno furore Lutherizabat, ut ibi per alium Typographum cœptum perficerent opus. Rinckus uero et Cochlæus de his mox admonuerunt literis suis Regem, Cardinalemque et Episcopum Roffensem,¹ ut quam diligentissime præcauerent in omnibus Angliæ portibus, ne mex illa perniciosissima inuenerentur. (*pp.* 132-134.)

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.


that he might ascertain all things more certainly, sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according to the discovery of Cochlæus; and when he had understood from him that the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there, he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was interdicted from proceeding farther in that work. The two English apostates, snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochlæus, however, immediately advised by their letters¹ the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher], that they might, with the greatest diligence, take care lest that most pernicious article of merchandise should be conveyed into all the ports of England. *Annals of the Eng. Bible: i. 56-59. Ed. 1845.*

We are much indebted, in a way he did not anticipate, to the rabid zeal of Dobneck, for these circumstantial details of the secret printing of our first New Testament, which otherwise we should not have known.

III. *The Printing at Worms.*

1. Tyndale produced at Worms the Second edition in Octavo: to which he *added* the following his second Address.

To the Reder.

 Eve diligence Reder (I exhorte) that thou come with a pure mynde/ and as the scripture sayth with a synge eye/ vnto the wordes of health/ and of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent and beleve them) we are borne a newe/ created a fresshe/ and enjoye the frutes off the bloud of Christ. Whiche bloud cryeth not for vengeance/ as the bloud of Abel: but hath purchased lyfe/ love/ faveour/ grace/ blessinge/ and whatsoever is promysed in the scriptures/ to them that beleve and obeye God: and stondeith bitwene vs and wrathe/ vengeance/ curse/ and whatsoever the scripture threateath agaynst the vnbelevers and disobedient/ which resist/ and consent not in their hertes to the lawe of god/ that it is right/ wholy/ iuste/ and ought soo to be.

Marke the playne and manyfest places of the scriptures/ and in doutfull places/ se thou adde no interpretation contrary to them: but (as Paul sayth) let all be conformable and agreynge to the fayth.

Note the difference of the law/ and of the gospell. The one axeth and requyreth the wother perdoneth and forgeveth. The one threateneth/ the wother promyseth all good thynges to them that sett their trust in Christ only. The gospell signifieth gladde tydynges/ and is nothyng but the promyses off good thynges. All is not gospell that is written in the gospell boke: For if the lawe were a waye/ thou couldest not know what the gospell meante. Even as thou couldest not se perdon/ favour/ and grace/ excepte the lawe rebuked the/ and declared vnto the thy sinne/ mysdede/ and treaspase.

Repent and beleve the gospell as sayth Christ in the fyrst of Marke. Applye all waye the lawe to thy

¹ These letters by Rinck and Cochlæus have not yet been recovered. Their being private or secret communications may partly account for this. Their

loss simply, does not invalidate Cochlæus' statements as regards facts that came within his own personal knowledge.

dedes/ whether thou finde luste in the bottom of thyne herte to the lawe warde; and soo shalt thou no dout repent/ and feale in the silfe a certayne sorowe/ payne/ and grefe to thyne herte; because thou canst nott withfull luste do the dedes off the lawe. Applye the gospell/ that is to saye the promyses/ vnto the deservynge off Christ/ and to the mercye of god and his trouthe/ and soo shalt thou nott despayre; butt shalt feale god as a kynde and a mercifull father. And his sprete shall dwell in the/ and shall be stronge in thee: and the promises shalbe given the at the last (though not by and by/ lest thou shuldest forgett thy sylfe and be negligent) and all threatenynge shalbe forgiven the for Christis blouddis sake/ to whom commit thy silfe all togedder/ with out respect/ other of thy good dedes or of thy badde.

Them that are learned Christenly/ I beseeche: for as moche as I am sure/ and my conscience beareth me recorde/ that of a pure entent/ singilly and faythfully I have interpreted itt/ as farre forth as god gave me the gyfte of knowledge/ and vnderstondynge: that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme/ offende them not: but that they consider howe that I had no man to counterfet/ neither was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same/ or soche lyke thinge in the scripture beforetyme. Moreover/ even very necessitie and combrance (God is recorde) above strengthe/ which I will not rehearse/ lest we shulde seme to bost oureselves/ caused that many thynges are lackynge/ whiche necessarily are requyred. Count it as a thyng not havynge his full shape/ but as it were borne afore hys tyme/ even as a thing begunne rather then fynned. In tyme to come (yf god have apoynted vs there vnto) we will give it his full shape: and puttout yf ought be added superflously: and adde to yff ought be oversene thorowe negligence: and will enforce to bryng to compendousnes/ that which is nowe translated at the lengthe/ and to geve lyght where it is requyred/ and to seke in certayne places more proper englysshe/ and with a table to expounde the wordes which are nott commonly vsed/ and shewe howe the scripture vseth many wordes/ which are wother wyse vnderstonde of the commen people: and to helpe with a declaration where one tonge taketh nott another. And will endever oureselves/ as it were to sethe it better/ and to make it more apte for the weake stomakes: desyringe them that are learned/ and able/ to remember their duetie/ and to helpe there vnto: and to bestowe vnto the edyfynge of Christis body (which is the congregacion of them that beleve) those gyftes which they have received of god for the same purpose. The grace that commeth of Christ be with them that love hym. Praye for vs.

From Mr. F. Fry's Handtraced-lithographed edition (of 177 copies only). Bristol, 1862.

2. Mr. A. Bower in his *Life of Luther*, 1813, under the year 1526 writes, 'The Imperial Diet assembled at Midsummer at the city of Spire, and the pressure of business was such as to require the attendance of the elector John, during several months.' *p.* 243.

Spalatin was with the Elector at Spire. He noted in his diary 'Saturday the morrow of St. Lawrence,' *i.e.* 11 August, 1526,¹ the following Table Talk:

Sabbato postridie Laurentii,¹ Princeps noster Elector Saxonie (Spire in comitiis imperialibus) audito in aedibus Principis Hessorum sermone, domum rediit. . . . Buschius [dixit nobis in cœna] . . . Item Wormatiæ² vi. mille exemplaria Novi Testamenti Anglice excusa. Id operis verum esse ab Anglo, illic cum duobus aliis Britannis³ divertente, ita vii. linguarum perito, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latine, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut, quamcumque loquatur, in eam natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctantæ et invito Rege, tamen sic suspirare ad Evangelion,

On the Saturday the morrow of St. Lawrence,¹ our prince the Elector of Saxony (then at the Diet of Spire) having heard a sermon at the residence of the Landgrave of Hesse, returned to his house. . . . Buschius [told us at supper] . . . Also at Worms² 6000 copies of the New Testament were printed in English. This work was translated by an Englishman, who was staying there with two of his countrymen,³ and who was so learned in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and French, that, whichever he spoke, you would think his native tongue. The English

¹ St. Lawrence's day is August 10. The day following was a Saturday in 1526; which proves the occurrence to be in that year.

² Worms is only some twenty miles from Spire.

³ One of these two assistants was Roy; who was the other? Certainly neither Fysh nor Frith.

ut affirmant, sese empturos Novum Testamentum, etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Adhæc Wormatiæ etiam Novum Testamentum Gallicè excussum esse.¹—Extracts from the MS. diary of George Spalatin, printed in *Amoenitates Literariæ* by SCHELHORN: [Francofurti et Lipsiæ, 14 vols. 8vo] *iv.* 431-2. *Ed.* 1730.

indeed have such a desire for the gospel, although the king opposes and dislikes it, that they say they would buy a New Testament, even if each copy cost 100,000 of money. In addition to this the New Testament was printed in French at Worms.¹

3. We have now come to the question; whether the Quarto was finished at Worms or elsewhere? There is no express statement on the subject; but we possess circumstantial evidence that renders it morally certain that it was completed in that city or in its neighbourhood.

Mr. F. Fry in his facsimile edition (1862) of the Octavo has demonstrated by similarity of type, water-marks, etc., beyond all reasonable doubt, that it was printed by Peter Schoeffer of Worms. It is impossible to apply a typographical test of like kind to the present fragment, for we do not possess in it even all that was printed at Cologne, by eight or sixteen pages. The evidence is therefore external: arising principally out of four points.

The above testimony of Cochlæus.

α Cochlæus knew nothing of the Octavo.

β He indubitably fixes the impression begun at Cologne to be the Quarto, *in ordine Quaternionum*; and that it actually consisted of three thousand copies; though it was first intended to print six thousand.

γ He states—and it was quite within his power to ascertain it—that the two Englishmen fled, with the printed sheets, to Worms, to complete the work there by another printer.

*α Cochlæus, at all events, believed the Quarto to have been finished there.

Tyndale's residence at Worms: as chiefly fixed by the beginning of the Preface to the *Parable of the Wicked Manimon*, the printing of which book was finished 8 May, 1528. See opposite page.

δ Tyndale says of Roy, 'Neuerthelesse I suffered all thinges tyll yat was ended whych I coude not doo alone without one both to wryte and to helpe me to compare ye textes together. When that was ended I toke my leue and bode him farewel for our two lyues:' Roy therefore left as soon as the two editions had passed the press.

ε Roy left Tyndale in the spring of 1526, going to Strasburg.

ζ Tyndale was at Worms about August 1526, by the testimony of Busche.

η Tyndale was at Worms in May 1527; and had an interview with Jerome there. 'A yere after that and now. xii. monethes before the pryntinge of this worke| came one Ierom a brother of Grenewich also| thorow Wormes to Argentine.' . . . 'Which Ierom with all filligence I warned of Royes boldnesse.'

The fair inference is therefore that Tyndale did not leave Worms from his arrival there with Roy in October 1525 until after May 1527.

Herman von Busche's Supper-talk, on 11 August, 1526.

θ Busche's talk, combined with Cochlæus' accounts, fixes the impression of the Octavo, as well as the Quarto, at three thousand copies: or Six thousand in all. For supposing signature (*i.e.* sheet) K had not actually been struck off when the printing at Cologne was stopped there; nine signatures (A to I) would have been printed; 3000 copies of which, or 27,000 sheets altogether, Tyndale and Roy must have taken with them up the Rhine. If Busche's six thousand refer to the Quarto alone, it follows that Tyndale duplicated at Worms what had already been printed at Cologne: and that having deliberately reduced the impression from its first intended number of six thousand to the three thousand actually begun there, that he had changed his mind on arriving at Worms, and increased it again to six thousand: a purposeless waste of power for which he can hardly be credited. On this assumption also the Octavo, which we know was printed at Worms, has to be accounted for.

On the other hand, it is more reasonable to believe that Tyndale did not duplicate the beginning of the Quarto, but 'completed' it, and that he printed a like impression of the Octavo. It is not necessary to

¹ I have not been able to trace any French New Testament printed at Worms in 1525. One was printed at Basle in that year.

WILLIAM ROY'S CONNECTION WITH THESE EDITIONS. 27

suppose that Schoeffer finished the Quarto: John Erfordianus, another printer about that time in Worms, may have done it, or it may have been finished in some neighbouring city. Indeed the short time in which the two editions were produced favours the employment of more than one printer.

Notices of the New Testament in England in 1526.

† John Pykas of Colchester confessed on 7 March, 1528, 'that about a two yerres last past, he bought in Colchester, of a Lumbarde of London, a New Testament in English, and paid for it foure shillings.'

* John Tyball of Dumstede confessed on 28 April, 1528, 'abowght ii yerres agon he compayned with syr Richard Fox curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his hookys that he had: that is to say, the New Testamente in Englishe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englishe.'

λ John Tyball and Thomas Hilles, between Whitsonside and Michaelmas 1526, bought each a Testament of Dr. Robert Barnes in the Augustine Friary, London.

. All these may have been either Quartos or Octavos.

μ Tonstall, Bishop of London, denounces *both* impressions on 24 Oct., 1526.

ν Archbishop Warham does the same, in almost identical terms, on 3 Nov., 1526.

ξ Robert Necton is actually selling the Quartos in January, 1527.

ο Henry VIII.'s preface to his English translation of his answer to Luther, early in 1527, refers to both editions.

π Dr. Robert Ridley's letter dated 24 Feb. [1527 in all probability] pointedly refers to the Quarto.

. All these occurrences—and possibly they might be multiplied—will be narrated further on. The point here to be marked is their very early date: all before Jerome called on Tyndale at Worms, in May 1527.

If then Tyndale remained in that city till after May 1527; and the Octavo, as we know it was, was printed there; and that both editions, simultaneously denounced on 24 Oct. 1526, came into England together early in that year,—a supposition that Busche's talk would favour,—it follows that Tyndale, by some printer, finished the Quarto at or near Worms.

IV. *William Roy's connection with these editions.*

1. In his Address above referred to, prefixed to *The Parable of the Wycked Mammon, &c.*; the printing of which work was finished by Hans Luft at Marburgh in Hesse on the 8 May 1528; Tyndale thus informs us of Roy's share in the production of the first two New Testaments.

¶ William Tyndale otherwise called Hychins to the reader

Grace and peace with all maner spirituall feelinge and lyuinge worthy of the kyndnes of Chryst, be with the reader and with all that thirst the wyl of God Amen. The cause why I set my name before this lyle treatyse and haue not rather done it in the newe testament is that then I folowed the counsell of Chryst which exhortheth men Math. vi. to doo theyr good dedes secretly and to be content with the conscience of weldoynge/ and that god seeth vs/ and patiently to abyde the reward of the last daye which Chryst hath purchased for vs and now wold fayne haue done lykewyse/ but am compelled otherwyse to doo.

Whyle I abode a faythful companyon¹ which now hath taken an other vyage vpon him/ to preach christ where I suppose) he was neuer yet preached (God which put in his herte thither to goo sende his sprite with him/ comforte him and bringe his purpos^e to good effecte) one William Roye a man somewhat craftye when he cometh vnto new acquayntance and before he be thorow knowen and namely when all is spent/ came vnto me and offered his helpe. As longe as he had no money/ somewhat I could ruele him: but as sone as he had gotten him money/ he became lyke hym selfe agayne. Neuerthelesse I suffered all things tyll yat was ended which I coulde not doo alone wythout one both to wryte and to helpe me to

¹ Can this be Thomas Hytton, the priest, whose martyrdom on 24 February, 1529, Tyndale felt so deeply? More, in the *Preface to his Confutation*, states that Hytton would not be 'a knowen that

hym selfe was preste, but sayed that he had by the space of. ix yerres ben beyonde the see, and there lyued by the ioyners craft.' Ib. iii.

compare ye textes together. When that was ended I toke my leue and bode him farewel for oure two lyues/ and as men saye a daye longer. After we were departed he went/ and gate him new frendes which thinge to doo he passeth all that euer I yet knewe. And there when he had stored hym of money he gotte him to Argentine where he professeth wonderfull faculties and maketh bost of no small thinges. A yere after that and now, xii. monethes before the pryntinge of this worke/ came one Ierom a brother of Grenewich also/ thorow wormes to Argentine/ sayenge that he entended to be Christes disciple an other whyle and to kepe (as nyse as God wolde gyue him grace) the profession of his baptim/ and to gett his lyuinge with his handes/ and to lyue no lenger ydely and of the swete and laboure of those captiues whiche they had taught/ not to byleue in Chryst: but in cuttshoues and russet coetes. Which Ierom with all diligence I warned of Royes boldnesse and exhorted hym to beware of hym and to walke quyety and with all pacience and longe sofferinge acordinge as we haue Chryste and his apostles for an ensample/ which thinge he also promysed me. Neuerthelesse when he was comen to Argentine William Roye (whos tonge is able not only to make foles sterke madde/ but also to disceyue the wisest that is at the fyrst syght and acquayntaunce) gate him to hym and set him a werke to make rymes/ whyle he hym selfe translated a dialoge out of laten¹ in whose prologe he promyseth moare a greate deal than I fere me he wyll euer paye. . . .

Some man wyl aske paraurenture why I take ye laboure to make this worke, in as moch as they will brunne it seyng they brunt the Gospel I answare, in brunninge the new testamente they dyd none other thyng then that I lokod for/ no more shall they do yf they/ brunne me also, yf it be gods wyll it shall so be. Neuerthelesse in translatyng the newe testamente I dyd my dutye/ and so do I now/ and wyll do as moch more as god hath ordered me to do. And as I offered that to all men to correcte it/ who soeuer coulede, euen so doo I this. Who soeuer therfore readeth this/ compare it vnto the scripture.

2. *Rede me and be nott wrothe* is a miscellany of invective verse. It was first known as *The burying of the masse*, from *The Lamētacion* at the beginning, which has the refrain of

‘ Seynge that gone is the masse,
Nowe deceased alas alas.’

The Satire is evidently written upon information such as Jerome had brought from England; say up to April 1527. Roy had a thousand copies printed of it; and another of his ‘dialoge out of laten,’ but not having money to pay for paper or printing to the printer, John Schoet of Strasburg, (which quite accords with Tyndale’s account of his powers of gammoning,) the most part of the two impressions were pawned to the Jews of Frankfurt. Some copies however were sent into England; and Wolsey wrote,

¹ This translation is now apparently lost. The author of the original Latin work (which I have also been unable to see) is unknown. Its title is given by Park [*Harl. Misc. ix. 3*] as *Inter patrem Christianum et filium contumacem dialogum Christianum*. That this work is also the same as Roy’s book against the seven sacraments is proved by the following passage in his *Supplicacyon of Soules* (in answer to Simon Fyshe’s *Supplication for the Beggars*) published before More had become Lord Chancellor (25 Oct. 1529). The reference is important as fixing the order in which the several works became known in England. The dates will be seen to confirm Tyndale’s statement; that Roy’s two works were printed at Strasburg in 1527. ‘They parceyuyng thys/ haue therfore furste as-

said the furst way all redy/ sendyng forth Tyndals translacyon of the new testament in such wyse handled as yt shuld haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all theyr hole heresies. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many placys the text/ with such wordys as he myght make yt seeme to the vnlearned people/ that the scripture affyrmed theyr heresies it selfe. Then cam some after out in prynt the dyaloge of frere Roye and frere Hyerome/ betwene ye father and ye sonne agaynst ye sacrament of ye aulter; and the blasphemouse boke entytled the beryng of the masse. [i.e. *Rede me*, &c.] Then cam forth after Tyndals wykkyd boke of Mammona [dated 8 May 1528] and after that his more wykkyd boke of obedyence’ [dated 2 October 1528]. *fol. xix. b.*

on 5 August 1528, to Herman Rinck, to arrest Roy and Tyndale and to buy up all their works. Rinck's reply will be found at pp. 32-36.

3. The Invective mainly consists of *A brefe Dialogue betwene two prestes seruautes named Walkyn and Jeffraye* [Jerome and Roy] in which the two following passages refer to the first reception by the Hierarchy in 1526, of the New Testament in England; and in so pointed a manner as to constitute very early and important evidence on that point: as we said, not later than April 1527.

The first passage proves the private 'consistory' of the Bishops under Wolsey, deliberating what was to be done with the Forbidden Book

Mat. ¶ Art thou not a frayde to presume/
Agaynst the Cardinalls fume/
Seynge they wilbe all on his syde ?

Jef. ¶ No I do rather gretly reioyce/
That of a lytell wormes voyce/
Goddis iudgement may be veryfyed.

Agaynst soche a wicked brothell/
Which sayth vnder his girthell/
He holdeth Kynges and Princes.
To whom for a salutation/
I will reheare a brefe oracion/
dedicate vnto his statynes.

Mat. ¶ Now gentell mate I the praye.

Jef. ¶ Have at it then with out delaye/
Contempnyng his maliciousnes.

O miserable monster/ most malicious/
Father of perversite/ patrone of hell,
O terrible Tyrant/ to god and man odious,
Advocate of antichrist/ to Christ rebell.
To the I speake/ o caytife Cardinall so cruell.
Causles charyngye by thy coursed commandment
To brenne goddis worde the wholly testament.

Goddis worde/ grownd of all vertue and grace
The fructeous fode/ of oure faythfull trust.
Thou hast condempnd in most carfull cace/
Throwe furious foly/ false and vniust.
O scarce Pharao/ folower of fleshly lust.
What moved thy mynde by malyce to consent/
To brenne goddis worde/ the wholly testament.

The tenoure of thy tyranny passeth my Brayne
In every point evidently to endyght.
Nero nor herod/ wer never so noyus certayne
All though of goddis lawis they had lytel lyght
Shame it is to speake howe agaynst ryght.
Thy hatfull hert hath caused to be brennt/
Goddis true worde/ the wholly testament.

O perverse

O perverse preste patriarke of pryde/
Murtherer with out mercy most execrable.
O beastly brothell/ of baudry the bryde/
Darlyng of the devill/ gretly detestable,
Alas/ what wretch wolde be so vengeable ?
At eny tyme to attempte soche impediment/
To brenne goddis worde the wholly testament.

God of his goodenes/ grudged not to dye/
Man to delyver from deadly dampnacion.
Whose will is that we shulde knowe perfetly
What be here hath done for oure saluacion.
O cruell kayface [Caiaphas]/ full of crafty conspi-
racion.

Howe durst thou geve then false iudgement
To brenne goddis worde/ the wholly testament

Thy leawednes of lyvyng is loth to heare/
Christis gospell to come vnto cleare light.
Howe be it surly it is so spred farre and neare
That forto let it thou haste lytell myght.
God hath opened our dercke dimed syght.
Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent/
To brenne goddis worde the wholly testament.

Agaynst thyne ambicion all people do crye/
Pompously spendinge the sustenaunce of the pore
Thy haulte honour hyly to magnify/
Maketh/ theves/ traytours/ and many a whore
Wo worth the wretche of wickednes the dore
Forger of oure dayly damage and detriment
To brenne goddis worde the wholly testament

O paynted pastoure/ of Satan the Prophet/
Ragyng courre/ wrapped in a wolues skynne
O butcherly bisshop/ to be a ruler vnmet/
Maker of misery/ occasion of synne.
God graunt the gracc nowe to begynne.
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent/
Brennyng goddis worde/ the wholly testament.

Mat. ¶ No more for oure lordis passion/
 Thou raylest nowe of a fassion/
 With rebukis most despytous/
 No man shall these wordes advert/
 But will iudge them of an hert/
 To procede/ most contumelious.
Jef. ¶ Though popissh curres here at do barcke/
 Yet thou mayst therin well marcke/
 The will of god accomplished.
 The Cardinall thus to rewarde/
 Which with oute eny godly regarde/
 Desdayneth the trothe to be publlished.
 Therefore as he did the truth condemnpe/
 So god wil hym and all his contempne/
 With the swearde of punnysshment.
Mat. ¶ They had fyrst some provocation?
Jef. ¶ None wother then the translacion/
 Of the englysshe newe testament.
 Wherin the autors with mecknes/
 Viterly avoydyng conviciousnes/
 Demeaned them so discretly.
 That with all their invencion/
 They coude fonde no reprehencion/
 Resistyng goddis worde wilfully.
Mat. ¶ Howe had the gospell fyrst entraunce/
 Into Englonde so farre of distaunce/
 Where to rede hym/ no man maye?
Jef. ¶ Goode christen men with pure affecte/
 Of god singularly therto electe/
 With cost did hym thether conveye.
 Which/ even as Christ was betrayed/
 So with hym the clargy played/
 Thorowe trayterous prodicion.
Mat. ¶ Who played the parte of Iudas?
Jef. ¶ The wholy bisshop of Saynct Asse/
 A poste of Sätans iurisdiction.
 Whom they call Doctour standissh/
 Woode that is nether flesshe nor fisshe/
 At all tymes a commen lyer.
 He is a bablynge. Questionist/
 And a marvelous grett sophist/
 Som tyme a lowsy graye fryer.
 Of stommake he is feare and bolde/
 In braulyng wordes a very scolde/
 Menglyng vengem with sugre.
 He despyseth the truth of god/
 Takyng parte rather with falchod/
 Forto obtayne worldly lucre.
 In carde playng he is a goode greke/
 And can skyll of post and glyeke/
 Also a payre of dyce to trolle.
 For whordom and fornicacions/
 He maketh many visitacions/
 His Dioces a pill and polle.

Though he

Though he be a stowte divyne/
 Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne/
 He there admitteth wittingly.
 So they paye their yearly tributis
 Vnto his dyvylissh substitu[ti]s/
 Official/ or commissary.
 To rehearce all his lyvynge/
 God geve it yvell chevyngel/
 Or els some amendment shortly.
Mat. ¶ Howe did he the gospell betraye?
Jef. ¶ As sone as ever he hearde saye/
 That the gospell cam to Englonde.
 Immediaty he did hym trappe/
 And to the man in the red cappe/
 He brought hym with stronge honde.
 Before whose powde consistory/
 Bryngyng in falce testimony/
 The gospell he did theare accuse.
Mat. ¶ He did mo persones represent/
 Then Iudas the traytour malvolent/
 Whiche betrayed Christ to the Ines.
Jef. ¶ Thou mayst se of them in ooe manne/
 Herod/ Pilat/ Cayphas/ and Anne [Ananias].
 With their properti severall.
 And in another manifestly/
 Iudas full of conspiracy/
 With the sectes pharisaicall.
 They are a grett deale more mutable/
 Then Proteus of forme so variable/
 Which coude hym silfe so disgyse.
 They canne represent apes/ and beares/
 Lyons/ and asses with longe eares/
 Even as they list to divyse.
 But nowe of standissh accusacion/
 Bressly to make declaracion/
 Thus to the Cardinall he spake.
 Pleaseth youre honourable grace/
 Here is channsed a pitious case/
 And to the churche a grett lacke.
 The gospell in oure Englysshe tonge/
 Of laye men to be red and songe/
 Is nowe hider come to remaine.
 Which many heretykes shall make/
 Except youre grace some waye take/
 By youre autorite hym to restrayne.
 For truly it is no handlyng/
 For laye peoples vnderstondyng/
 With the gospell to be busy.
 Which many wone interprisynge/
 Into heresy it did bringe/
 Disdaynyng the churche vnreverently.
Mat. ¶ Tosse/ these saynges are sophisticall/
 I wolde heare the sence misticall/
 Of these wordes right interpreted.

Jef. ¶ In fayth with out sinulacion/
 This is the right significacion/
 Of his meanyge to be expressed.
 O Cardinall so glorious/
 Thou arte Capitayne over vs/
 Antichristis chefe member.
 Of all oure detestacions/
 And sinfull prevarications/
 Thou alone/ arte the defender.
 Wherefore healde nowe or els never/ -
 For we are vndone for ever/
 Vt the gospell abroade be spred.
 For then with in a while after/
 Every plowe manne and carter/
 Shall se what a lyfe we have led.
 Howe we have this five hundred yeres/
 Roffled theyn amonge the bryres/
 Of desperate infidelite.
 And howe we have the worlde brought/
 Vnto beggery worse then nought/
 Through oure chargeable vanite.
 Which knowen/ we shalbe abhorred/
 Reddi to be knocked in the forhed/
 Oure welth taken awaye clene.
 Therefore Tyrant playe nowe thy parte/
 Seynge with the devill thou arte/
 Gretter then eny manne hath bene.
 Put the gospel a waye quygh/
 That he come not to laye mens sight/
 Forto knowe goddis commaundements.
 And then we that are the remmenant/
 Shall diligently

Shall diligently be attendaunt/
 To blynde theym with oure commentis.
 If they have once inhibicion/
 In no maner of condicion/
 To rede goddis worde and his lawes.
 For vs doctours of theology/
 It shalbe but a smale mastery/
 To make theym soles and dawes.
 Loke what thou dost by tyranny/
 We will allowe it by sophistry/
 Agaynst these worldly villaynes.
 ¶ Nowe truly this is the meanyng/
 Howe soever be the speaking/
 Of these spretuall lordaynes.
 ¶ But what sayde the Cardinall here at ?
 Jef. ¶ He spake the wordes of Pilat/
 Sayinge/ I fynde no fault therin.
 Howe be it/ the bissshops assembled/
 Amonge theym he examened
 What was best to determyne ?
 Then answered bisshop Cayphas/ *Hoc est,*
 That a grett parte better it was/ *London*
 The gospell to be condemnaed. *Episcopus.*
 Lest their vices manyfolde/
 Shulde be knowen of yonge auld olde/
 Their estate to be contempded.
 The Cardinall then incontinent/
 Agaynst the gospell gave iudgement/
 Sayinge/ to brenne he deserved.
 Wherto all the bisschoppis cryed/
 Answerynge/ it cannot be denyed/
 He is worthy so to be serred. Ij.

The second passage of *The dialogue* indelibly fixes the *first* burning of the printed New Testament—not, as has been often thought, on 11 February 1526, on the occasion of the humiliation of Dr. Barnes, when Bishop Fisher preached a sermon against the Lutherans *within*, and Lutheran books were burnt ‘before the rode of Northern’ *without* St. Paul’s church : but in connection with Bishop Tonstall’s sermon at Paul’s Cross, after the ‘conspiracy’ of Wolsey and the bishops. The important allusion to *The prologe*, see p. 10 of the lithographed text, will be referred to again.

¶ Wat. ¶ Holde thy peace and be content/
 The gospell by a commaundment/
 To do it will strayghtly theym compell.
 Jef. ¶ They sett nott by the gospell a flye/
 Diddest thou nott heare whatt villany/
 Th[ey] did vnto the gospell ?
 ¶ Wat. ¶ Why/ did they agaynst hym conspyre ?
 Jef. ¶ By my trothe they sett hym a fyre/
 Openly in London cite.

¶ Wat. ¶ Who caused it so to be done ?
 Jef. ¶ In sothe the Bisshoppe of London/
 With the Cardinallis autorite :
 Which at Paulis crosse earnestly/
 Denounced it to be heresy/
 That the gospell shuld come to lyght.
 Callynge then heretikkes execrable/
 Whiche caused the gospell venerable/
 To come vnto laye mens syght.

¶ Wat. ¶ Who

32 WILLIAM ROY'S CONNECTION WITH THESE EDITIONS.

<p>He declared there in his furiousnes/ That he fownde erroures more and les/ Above thre thousande in the translacion. Howe be it when all cam to pas/ I dare saye vnable he was/ Of one erreure to make probacion. Alas he sayde/ masters and frendes/ Consider well nowe in youre myndes/ These heretikis diligently. They saye that comen women/ Shall assone come vnto heven/ As those that lyve perfectly. Mat. ¶ And was that their very sayinge? Jf. ¶ After this wyse with oute faynyngel/ In a certayne prologe they wryte. That a</p>	<p>That a whoare or an open synner/ By meanes of Christ oure redemer/ Whome god to repent doth incyete. Shall soner come to saluacion/ By meritis of Christis passion/ Then an outwarde holy lyver. Mat. ¶ They did there none wother thinge shewe/ Then is rehearced in mathewe/ In the one and twenty chapter. Jf. ¶ For all that/ he sayde in his sermone/ Rather then the gospell shulde be comone/ Bryngynge people into erreure He wolde gladly soffre marterdome/ To vpholde the devyls fredome/ Of whom he is a confessor. C. ij & iij.</p>
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4. We get further information of Roy's connection with the first New Testaments from the following letter of Herman Rinck, written to Wolsey on the 4th October 1528. The original MS. is imperfect at the edges: hence the gaps in the following Latin.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

SANCTISSIME ac gratiosissime pater in Christo ac domine clementissime, post humilis beneuolique seruitii me[is] titudinem ad quævis vestræ sanctitati beneplacita, obsequen grata obnixa ac sincera mente, vestram gratiam, ac paternita[tem] scire exopto, quatenus etc.

Literæ gratiæ vestræ ad me datæ per dominum Iohannem West, sacerdotem ordinis diu Francis[ci] de Observantia, scriptæ quinto Augusti, le apud¹ Hampton Korte, in vestræ gratiæ pallat[i]o mihi a Colonia ad Francofordiam in biduo celeri nuncio sunt missæ et perlata, 21 Septembris, de commercandis undique libris Anglica lingua excussis, et de capiendis Roy et Huckyneck. At illi et eorum complices a paschate² et proxianis quadragessimæ nundinis Francofordiæ non sunt visi, neque scitur quo abierunt, superstites ne sint an vita functi.³ Neque Iohannes Schott, civis Argentinensis et eorum chalcographus,⁴ se scire dixit quo evanissent.⁵ Sunt autem ipsorum libri referiti hæresi, ac contra vestræ gratiæ magoificentiam et honorem⁶ pleni invidia et infamia, qui et pessime et præter Christianam charitatem, regiam serenitatem, beatissimum dominum meum et generosissimum

TRANSLATION.

MOST holy and most gracious father in Christ, most merciful lord—after offering my humble and willing service to your Holiness's pleasure, with grateful and sincere mind, I wish to inform your grace and fatherhood as follows.

Your grace's letters dated Aug. 5, at your palace of Hampton Court, were given to me by John West priest of the order of St. Francis de Observantia, at Cologne on Sept. 21, having been sent on from Frankfort by a swift messenger in two days, which letters ordered me to buy up everywhere books printed in English, and to arrest Roy and Hutchins. They and their accomplices have not been seen at Frankfort since Easter² and the market after Lent, and it is not known whither they have gone, and whether they are alive or dead.³ John Schott, citizen of Strasburg, their engraver,⁴ says he does not know whither they⁵ have vanished. Their books indeed are stuffed with heresy, full of envy and slander against your grace's glory and honour,⁶ and what is worst and contrary to Christian charity, make the king's serenity, my most kind and noble lord and illustrious prince, infamous to all worshippers of Christ. However, 1, as a most

¹ ? for 'apud le Hampton Courte.'

² Easter Day in 1528 fell on 12 April. Therefore Tyndale, or Roy, or both of them were at Frankfort fair about April 1528.

³ Tyndale at least had gone on to Marburg, and was there when Rinck was writing this letter.

⁴ i.e. printer.

⁵ Schott possibly never knew Tyndale.

⁶ Rinck is referring to Roy's Satire.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

et illustrissimum principem, omnibus christicolis infan-tem reddunt. Ego tamen tanquam humillimus fidelissimus et diligentissimus minister, tribus hebdomadibus¹ ante vestræ gratiæ acceptas literas, audivi et percepi illos ipsos libros Iudeis Francofordiæ certo ære vel nummo oppigneratos esse, et tum quam primum pro ipsis consequendis ex me ipso elaborabam, et sollicitus eram. Chalcographus autem Iohannes Schott præter fœnus Iudæis dandum et sui laboris mercedem et papiri sumptum exigebat, et illi se eos venditurum aiebat qui plus pecuniæ offerret. Cum itaque gratia vestra mihi literas et mandata ex Anglia mittebat, illico neque corpore neque pecuniæ neque diligentie parcebam (ut merito debebam) sed privilegiis a Cæsarea Maiestate olim acceptis utebar. Consules Francofordienses et aliquot senatores ac iudices mihi donis et muneribus conciliabam, quo libros illos omnes, omni ex loco coraderem et coacervarem quod et tribus aut quatuor locis factum est, ita quod spero, quotquot talium librorum excussi sunt eos apud me contineri, præter duos quos vestræ gratiæ commissarius prænominatus Iohannes West, a me exoptavit et accepit, in maiorem et frugem et utilitatem regiæ gratiæ et vestræ. Libros vero duos ipsi dedi, cum eum tum fidelem tum diligentem vestræ gratiæ comperirem, et cui sæpe inserviisset, et adhuc procul dubio inserviet. Debebant autem libri ipsi, (nisi percepissem et intervenissem) in thecas chartaceas compingi et occultari, et decem inclusas sarcinis, lino obductis, callide et sine omni suspicione, per mare, tempore transmitti in Schotiam et Angliam, ut ibidem ac sola et onda papirus venderentur, sed admodum paucos aut nullos transvectos vel venditos puto. Ceterum et et procuravi coram consulibus Frankfordiensibus iuramentis acceptis [et] præstitis, quod denuo non incurdatur typis æneis, tum chalcographus ipse vigore sui iuramenti exemplar scriptum et principale ad me mittere obstrictus est. Insuper et summa opera curabo in prædictis Roy et Huckyng cæterisque regiæ gratiæ et vestræ æmulis et rebellionibus, tum capiendis, tum ubi locorum agant, percipiendis, ut dominus Iohannes West et filius meus Hermannus Rynck, et Iohannes Geilkyrche, meus minister ore et præsentibus testabuntur, quibus vestra gratia non secus ac mihi ipsi fidem adhibeat et præbeat; ipsi enim rem omnem et celabunt et obticebunt, quæcumque vestra gratia ipsis commiserit, quos præcipue et præsentibus ad regiam et

TRANSLATION.

humble, faithful and diligent servant, three weeks¹ before receiving your grace's letters, heard and perceived that those very books had been pawned to the Jews at Frankfort for a certain sum of money, and then, on my own account, I laboured and endeavoured to get hold of them as soon as possible. The engraver, John Schott, demanded beside the interest for the Jews the pay for his labour and the expense of the paper, and said that he should sell them to whoever would give the most money. So, as your grace had sent me letters and commissions from England, I immediately spared neither my person, my money nor my trouble, (as I was bound to do,) but made use of the privileges previously received from his Imperial Majesty. I gained over the consuls of Frankfort and some senators and judges, by gifts and presents, so that I might scrape and heap together all those books from every place; which was done in three or four places, so that I hope that all of those books yet printed are in my possession, except two which your grace's commissary the above named John West asked for and received from me for the greater profit and advantage of the king's grace and yours. Two books indeed, I gave him, as I found him faithful and diligent for your grace, whom he has often served and doubtless will in future serve. Unless I had discovered it, and interfered, the books would have been enclosed and hidden in paper covers, packed in ten bundles covered with linen and conveyed in time by sea,² craftily and without exciting any suspicion to Scotland and England, where they would have been sold only as blank paper; but I think that very few, or none, have been exported or sold. Besides I have . . . and procured from the consuls of Frankfort a prohibition strengthened by oaths, of their further printing from copper types, and the engraver himself is bound by his oath to send me the original written copy. In addition to this, I will endeavour in every way to arrest Roy and Hutchins and other opponents and rebels of the king's grace and yours, and to find out where they live, as John West, and my son Hermann Rynck and John Geilkyrche my servant will assure you by word of mouth, to whom your grace may give credence just as to myself, for they will keep silence concerning and conceal whatever orders your grace gives them. I send them now to the king's grace and yours, chiefly on account of the favourable issue of the business, and

¹ *i.e.* about 1 Sept. 1528.² By whom? Probably English merchants, who

would have repaid the Jews' loan and reimbursed Schott.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

vestram gratiam transmitto, ob commodiorem ipsius negotii exitum, et ut rem gratam regię et vestrę gratię exhibeam et faciam. Totaque vita mea cum omnibus et prognatis et posteris hac in re sollicitus et sedulus ero provisor. Neque mei laboris, conatus et pecunie a me expensę elapsis multis annis neque per me neque meos posteros expetam et efflagitabo, sed singula regię gratię et vestrę promissis committo, prorsusque confido permagnę vestrę providentię, iuxta operam meam quam collocavi in electione Cęsareę Majestatis, et regię gratię, et secundum vestra pollicita, si sponsalia inter Cęsarem Carolum et regię gratię filiam progressum et exitum sortita fuissent, tum in ipsis omnem meam impendisse diligentiam et industriam, tum per me, tum meos et cognatos et affines omnibus modis expedivissem. Nunc vero sponsaliciis non executis vel progredientibus, spero alio beneficio regię gratia me condonabit, ut suę gratię literę apertius indicabunt.

Pręterea, anno domini 1502, mensis Augusti, maximum privilegium a Cęsarea Maiestate regię gratię in Anglię et interscursum negotiatorum a Cęsarea Maiestate concessum, largissima libertate, impetrare iuvi et opitulatus sum, per Cęsaris et regię gratię commissarios in usum et commodum omnium in Anglię regię gratię subditorum, ut manifestus est eo in loco, ubi episcopus Cantuariensis Doctor Dominus Warren, antea commissarius cum Carolo de Sowerschett, pię memorię, camerario regis Anglię, decem millia librarum sterlingarum contulit regię gratię, dum ego, nomine Cęsareę Majestatis, huius regis patri pręsens obtuli privilegium, pręsentibus suis optimatibus, et consiliariis, in le Westmunster, tum religiosis, tum secularibus, simul et decem millia librarum sterlingarum data accepi mittenda Cęsari Maximiliano, quę eidem Cęsari et contuli et meo secreto sigillo libera comprobavi et soluta esse testatus sum, proprioque et nomine et cognomine in maiorem fidem meipsum subscripsi, ac ambasiatorem vel legatum Cęsareę Maiestatis decuit, quod Cęsarea Maiestas eiusque successores illud ratum et sancitum habere deberent, ipsunque a Cęsare Carolo nunc et renovatum et confirmatum aestimo, vel saltem agendum regię gratię facile sit passurus, et consensum concessurus, ad quod consequendum, humile et exiguum obsequium (si Anglię vestra opus habuerit, et Regia gratia mihi mandaverit) paratissimum et me sine mora advent . . . iure debeo, ac sponte volo, aut vellem, ad Cęsaream Maiestatem in Hispaniam aut alibi, quorsum sua Regia gratia tunc

TRANSLATION.

that I may show and do a thing pleasing to the king's grace and yours. During the whole of my life, I, with all my children and posterity, will carefully and sedulously attend to this matter, and will not ask or demand, either personally or by my descendants, any return for the labour, trouble and money which I have spent for many years, but I commit everything to the promises of the king's grace and yours, trusting completely in your great prudence, in consideration of the assistance which I gave the king's grace at the election of his Imperial Majesty, and according to your promises, if the espousals between the Emperor Charles and the king's grace's daughter had been proceeded with and taken effect; in which I used all my diligence and industry, and employed all my relations and connections. Now that the espousals have not been executed and are not still in progress, I hope that the king's grace will favour me with some other kindness, as his grace's letters openly declare.

Besides, in the year 1502, in the month of August, I aided and assisted in obtaining a great privilege from the Emperor's Majesty, for the king's grace in England, and the mercantile intercourse which was granted with the most ample liberty by the Imperial Majesty, through his and the king's grace's commissioners, to the profit and advantage of all the king's grace's subjects in England; as was more apparent at the time when the bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, formerly commissioner with Charles Somerset, of pious memory, chamberlain of the king of England, offered in the name of the king's grace, £10,000 sterling; while I, in the name of the Emperor's Majesty, offered in person the privilege to the father of the present king, in the presence of his peers and counsellors spiritual and secular, at Westminster, and received the £10,000 sterling to be sent to the Emperor Maximilian, to whom I gave the said sum and attested the delivery with my own private seal, signing my own name and surname for greater security, as was fit for an ambassador or legate of the Emperor's Majesty; and the Emperor's Majesty and his successors ought to keep it valid and secure. I believe that it has now been renewed and confirmed by the Emperor Charles, or at least he would easily allow it to be increased, and would grant his consent to the king's grace; in obtaining which I offer my bumble and small but ready service, (if England has need and the king's grace orders,) and would go without delay, (as I ought of right, and as I freely wish and would wish to do,) to the Emperor's Majesty in Spain or elsewhere, wherever the

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iusserit profici . . . obsequentissimus tum minister, tum ambasciator sive legatus . . . eiusdem privilegiis, iuxta quæ et me habeo erga regiam gratiam. In quibus . . . privilegiis, meo iudicio, continetur quod per totum Romanum imperium præcipue in Germania obstrepentes Angliæ regi neque eiusdem traditores debeant conservari aut perpeti, multo minus hæretici, seditionem Christianorum excitantes totius Anglici regni. Quapropter eiusdem privilegii vigore et lege, Edmundus de Lupoell qui se ducem Suffolx[ie] nominabat, per regem Philippum desiderabatur ut dignum erat in Angliam adduci. Deinde et Wilhelmus Roy, Wilhelmus Tyntaell, Hieronim[us] Barlo, Alexander Barckley et eorum adherentes, etc., olim observantes, ordinis Divi Francisci, nunc vero apostatæ. Necnon et Georgius Constans, et alii complures, regis gratiæ obstrepentes, capi plecti et offerri debebant, ob hæresim lutheranam, tum delendam, tum eradicandam et ad fidem Christianam confirmandam, ut plurimum nunc opus est in Angliæ regno. Hanc meam opinionem multo clarius, prædictum privilegium ostendit, cuius exemplar nullum mihi retinui, sed gratiæ vestræ excellentissima prudentia hæc multo prudentius pendere et agere potest, quam ipse scriptis exprimere valeo. Cum itaque tale mandatum huc ad me missum fuerit, deo optimo maximo in honorem ac vestræ gratiæ totiusque regni Anglici tum Christianæ, tum diligentissime, omnibus viribus et sedulo ipsum exequar. Hoc itaque modo, regis gratiæ et vestræ omnibusque tum religiosis tum sæcularibus subditis Anglici regni in salutem et commodum quantum potui divino opitulamine et iuxta vestræ gratiæ mandatum, hæreticorum libros inquisivi neque labori neque pecuniæ parcens, sed Francofordiam ad nudinas abiit, tum papali tum Cæsareo mandato cum ipsis egi, presertim usus sum iisdem privilegiis vel mandatis quæ a divo Maximiliano Cæsare, et nunc moderno imperatore Carolo consecutus sum, olim calcographum ipsum Iohannem Schott coram consulibus iudicibus et senatoribus Francofordiensibus iureiurando compuli, ut fateretur quot libros tales excusserit in lingua Anglica, Germanica, Gallica, aut alio ideomate, tunc ad sacramentum dictum fatebatur quod solum mille sex quaternionum et adhuc mille libros novem quaternionum Anglico sermone excussisset, et hoc

TRANSLATION.

king's grace might order, as an obedient servant, ambassador or legate, [to obtain] the same privileges, according to which I act towards the king's grace. These privileges, in my opinion, contain that throughout the whole Roman Empire, especially in Germany, no rebels or traitors to the king of England shall be kept or suffered, much less heretics who excite sedition among the Christians of the whole kingdom of England. By force of this privilege, Edmund de la Pole, who called himself the duke of Suffolk, was demanded by king Philip, to be sent into England, as was fitting. Then William Roy, William Tyndale, Jerome Barlow,¹ Alexander Barclay,² and their adherents, formerly Observants of the order of St. Francis, but now apostates, George Constans³ also, and many other rebels of the king's grace, ought to be arrested, punished and delivered up on account of the Lutheran heresy, which ought to be blotted out and rooted up, to confirm the Christian faith, of which there is much need in the kingdom of England. This opinion of mine the aforesaid privilege will show much more clearly, but I have retained no copy of it. Your grace's excellent prudence however will be able to consider and manage these matters more prudently than I can express them in writing. When therefore such a mandate comes to me hither, I will execute it to the honour of Almighty God, your grace and the whole realm of England, as a Christian, and with all my diligence, strength and care. In this manner therefore, for the safety and profit of the king's grace and yours, and of all the subjects of the English realm, both religious and secular, as far as I could with divine help, and according to your grace's command, I searched for heretical books, sparing neither labour nor money. I went to the market at Frankfort with a papal and imperial mandate, using especially the privileges or mandates which I obtained from the late Emperor Maximilian and now hold from the present emperor Charles. I compelled the engraver John Schott to take an oath before the consuls, judges, and senators of Frankfort to confess how many of such books he had printed in English, German, French or other languages. Then he confessed on oath that he had only printed hitherto a thousand books of six quires⁴ and a thousand of nine quires⁴ in the English tongue, at

¹ Here we get the surname of 'frere Jerome.'

² The English translator of *The Ship of Fools*. How did he come into this list?

³ i.e. Constantine.

⁴ Or signatures, i.e. sheets. Roy's *Rede me* consists of nine signatures. I suppose *The Dialogue out of laten* to be the one of six sheets.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

inssu Roy et Huckynk,¹ qui zere charentes, libros excurssos solvere non poterant, multo minus eos in cæteris linguis excudi facere. Quare ipsos ferme omnes emptos Coloniae domi meae habeo, . . . a gratiæ vestræ filius meus persuad. bit et desiderabit ut vestra gratia me certior[em] faciat quid cum ipsis commercatis libris fieri velit, tum omni diligentia exequetur et fiet, quoad et mihi et meis Deo favente possibile fuerit Regiæ gratiæ et vestræ obsequium præstandi. Valeat igitur gratia vestra multis felicibus annis. Datum Coloniae, quarto nonas Octobris, anno 1528.

Obsequiosissimus ac deditissimus vestræ gratiæ ac sanctitatis familiaris, Hermannus Rinckus, manu propria scripsit.

Addressed. Reverendissimo in Christo patri, ac domino Thomæ Cardinali Ebrocensi, archicancellario, illustrissimi principis regis Angliæ, etc.

Endorsed. Harman Ryngge, iij nonas Octobris. (*Vitellius*, B. xxi. 43 ; British Museum.)

TRANSLATION.

the order of Roy and Hutchins,¹ who had no money to pay for the books printed, much less to have them printed in other languages. Wherefore I bought almost all these, and have them at my house at Cologne, as my son will show your grace and will request your grace to inform me what you wish to be done with the books so bought, which shall then be executed and done with all diligence as far as is possible to me and mine with God's favour, to show our duty to the king's grace and yours. So may your grace fare well for many happy years. Dated at Cologne, 4 October, 1528.

The most dutiful and devoted servant to your grace and holiness,

HERMANN RINCK.

Addressed. To the most reverend Father in Christ, and lord Thomas Cardinal of York, lord Chancellor to the most illustrious Prince, the King of England, etc.

Endorsed. HARMAN RYNGE, 4 October.

5. In *A Proper Dayloge betwene a gentillman and a husbandman| eche complainynge to other their miserable calamities through the ambition of the clergy*, printed by Hans Luft, at Marburg, in Hesse, 1530 ; and of unknown authorship, unless it be by Jerome Barlow or William Roy ; there occur, in similar triplets, the following allusions to the burning of the New Testament.

Gentillman.

Yf the holy gossell allege we shuld
As stronge heretikes take vs they would
Vnto their churche disobedient.
For why they haue commaunded straytely
That none vnder great payne be so hardye
To haue in englishe the testament.
Which as thou knowest at London
The bisshop makinge ther a sermon
With shamefull blasphemie was brent.

B. ij.

When they brennyd the newe testament
They pretendyd a zeles very feruent
To maynteyne onely goddes honour.
Which they sayde with protestacyon
Was obscured by translacyon
In englysshe| causynge moche errour.

C. vii

V. The Landing and Distribution in England.

1. In addition to the warnings of Cochlæus and Rinck, there came other tidings to the king of the designed introduction into his realm of the Forbidden Book.

EDWARD LEE, the king's Almoner (who became Archbishop of York in

¹ A mistake : Tyndale had nothing to do with either of these books. This statement of Schott's is

conclusive that the English New Testaments, which were of much greater bulk, were not printed by him.

1531, and *d.* 13th September, 1544), journeying into Spain, wrote a letter to the king, from Bordeaux, on 2nd December, 1525, in which he thus announces what he had learnt in his hurried journey through France in the previous month of November.

Please it your Highnesse to undrestand that sithen I found so large occasion by Englishe merchants, your subjects I could no lesse than advertise your Grace as well howe farr I am proceded in my iornaye, as also of the successe in the same. This seconde daye of Decembr I arrived at Burdeaulx, afre a continuall and as diligente jorneye as this pouer bodie and my cariages togidr would suffr, not sparinge one daye, Sondayes conclie except, and one day at Parisse, for the relief of my self and my hors. In certayne places, as Bolayne, Mottrell, Abbevil, Bloys, and this towne Burdeaulx, I fownd cortesie and honor in the reverence of your royall Majestie. At Pariss, Orleans, and oodr, besides thees rehersed, none. The people shewe them self joyfull of the peax, wiche they wissh to be perdurable, God knnewe they have mutche neede of it. . . .

Please it your Highnesse moreover to undrestand that I am certainie enformed as I passed in this contree that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whome he is, hath translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within fewe dayes entendeth to arrive with the same emprinted in England. I neede not to advertise your Grace wiche infection and daunger may ensue heerbie, if it be not withstoded. This is the next way to fulfill your realme with Lutherians. For all Luthers perverse opinions bee grounded upon bar words of Scriptur not well taken ne vndrestoded, wiche your Grace hath opened in sondrie places of your royall Booke. All our forfades, governors of the Church of England, hath with all diligence forbed and exchued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperthe in Constitutions provincial of the Church of England. Nowe, Sir, as God hath endued your Grace with Christen courage to sett forthe the standard against thies Philistees and to venquish them, so I doubt not but that he will assist your Grace to prosecute and performe the same; that is to vndre trade them that they shall not nowe againe lift vppe their hedds, wiche they endeavor now by meanes of Englishe Bibles. They knowe what hurte such books hath doone in your Realme in tymes passed.

Hidretoo, blessed be God, your Realme is save from infection of Luthers sect, as for so mutche that althowg anye peradventur bee secretlie blotted within, yet for fear of your royall Majestie, wiche hath drawn his swerd in Gods cause, they dar not openlie avowe. Wherefor I can not doubt but that your noble Grace will valiauntlie maignetaine that you have so noble begonne.

This realme of Fraunce hath been somewhat tooched with this sect, in so mutche that it hath entred amongs the Doctors of Parisse, wherof some bee in prison, some fled, some called in *judicium*. The bisshope also of Meulx, called Melden, is summoned for that cause, for he suffred Luthers perverse opinions to bee preched in his diocese. Faber also, a man hidretoo noted of excellent good lief and lernyng is called among them, but somme saye heer for displeasur, wiche I can well think. The Parliament of Parisse hath had mutche business to repress this Sect. And yet, blessed be God, your noble Realme is yet unblotted. Wherefor lest any dawnger myght ensue, if thies Books secretlie shold bee brought in, I thought my dutte to advertise your Grace therof, considering that it touchethe your high honor, and the wealth and integrite of the Christen fayth with in your Realme: wiche can not long endur if thies Bookes may come in. The Holie Gost eyermor assist your noble Grace. At Burdeaulx, the second daye of Decembr. . . . Your most humble preest, subject, and almosinar—EDOUARDE LEE. Sir Henry Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3 S. ii. 72. The original is *MS. Cotton. Vesp. c. iii. fol. 211. Orig.*

2. The famine in London in 1527 leading to a vastly increased importation of Corn could have nothing to do with the *first* introduction of the Testaments by March 1526; though it may have facilitated their later importation. Edward Halle's account is as follows:

By reason of the great raynes, which fel in the sowing time and in the beginning of the last yere now in the beginning of thys yere corne began sore to fayle throughout the realme, in so mutche that in the citie of London, bread for a while was very skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so fayled

that none could be gotten for money. Sauyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the cite of his owne prouysion, vi. C. [six hundred] quarters, or els for a weeke ther had ben litle bread in London, yet was the scarcitie more then yederth. For then wheat was only at xv. s. [£11. 5s. od.] the quarter, and from thence it rose to xx. s. [£15] and after to xxvj. s. viii. d. [£20] the quarter. Men sayd that the negligence was in sir Thomas Seimer knyght then Maior. Many substanciall men would haue made prouision for their houses, but they feared lest the comminaltie would haue taken it from them. Then were commissions sente into all shires and commissioners appoynted to see what wheat was in the realme, and the commissioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shire to another, which commaundment had lyke to haue raysed trouble, and specially the cite of London with the same was sore agreued, for thei had no arable ground to sowe, but must make prouision with money, which prouision was them denied in diuerse shires by that commaundment, wherat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmure, came to the Cardinall and moued him of ye mischiefe that was like to gnsue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they wyth strong hand wil fetche corne from them that haue it. To whom he answered yat they should haue wheat ynough out of Fraunce, for the French kyng seyde to me quod the Cardinall that yf he had but three bushels of corne in all Fraunce, Englande should haue twayne so muche he louth and regardeth this realme; with this answer thei departed and euery day loked for French wheat, but none came: and farther such wheat as ye Marchauntes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy, and other places were ther restrained, so that the relefe ther failed, but the gentle marchauntes of ye Styliard brought from Danske, Breme, Hambrough and other places great plentie, and so did other marchauntes from Flanders, Holand and Frislande, so that wheat was letter chepe in London, then in all England ouer. Then the people sayd, se how we had bene serued by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if th[e]mperors subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kindnes the common people loued th[e]mperor the better and al hys subiectes. The kyng of hys goodnes hearyng that ye wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, and so for comfort of thys cyty of London he lent M [a thousand] quarters, for ye which they both thanked him and prayed for hym. Then wythin short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made prouysion in all places for Wheat and Rye, that after Christmas [1527-8] they lacked none, and al the parties adioyning to them wer fain to fetch wheate of them and none to them was denied, notwithstanding their vnkynnd commaundement geuen that the Londoners should none haue of them. *The xix. yere of Hen. VIII.* [22 Apr. 1527-21 Apr. 1528.] Fol. 166-7.

3. A principal person on the continent, connected with the Importation of the New Testaments into England was Richard Harman, a merchant of the English factory at Antwerp, respecting whom there is the following Royal prescript extant.

By the Quene.

Anne the quene
[This is the queen's
autograph]

Trustie and right welbiloued we grete you well] and where as we be credible enformed that the berer hereof Richard Herman marchaunte and citizen of Antwerpe in Brabant was in the tyme of the late lorde Cardynall put and expelled frome his fredome and felowshipe of and in the Englyshe house thete for nothing els (as he affermethe) but onoly for that that he dyd bothe withe his gooddis and pollicie to his greate hurte and hynderans in this worlde helpe to the setting forthe of the newe testamente in Englyshe] we therefore desire and instantly praye you that with all spede and fauoure conuenient ye well cause this good and honest marchaunt being my lordis true faithfull and loving subiecte restored to his pristine fredome libertie and felowshipe aforesaid and the sonner at this oure requeste, And at your good leysur to here hym in suche thinges as he hathe to make further declaration vnto you in this behalf. Geuen vndir our signett at my lordis manoure of Grenewiche the xiiijth daye of May.¹

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 350.

Addressed on the back.

To oure trustie and right welbiloued Thomas Crumwell esquier chief Secretary vnto my lorde the kinge hyghnes

Endorsed on the back.

The Queens Grace letters for Richard Harman.

¹ The year is 1534. Cromwell was acting as Secretary of State in April 1534: and was not made a Lord, until 9 July 1536.

We possess in a collection of State correspondence between England and the Low Countries in 1526-31, now *Cott. MSS., Galba B. ix.*, further information respecting Richard Harman's imprisonment at Antwerp, on the accusation of John Hackett, the English Envoy. Harman and his wife were sent to prison on 12 July 1528; and being charged first with being heretics, afterwards with being traitors, were remanded from time to time, while Hackett was endeavouring to obtain proofs of his accusation; which failing to do, they were discharged on 26 February 1529. Hackett writing in December 1528 states that Harman estimated this imprisonment to have entailed a loss of two thousand guilders [$\text{£}200$ then, equal to $\text{£}3000$ now]; and the above 'letters' of Anne Boleyn's show that he was expelled of the English House at Antwerp. When Hackett therefore happened, on the 7 April following, to be in that city, Harman got him arrested for false imprisonment, but the Amant and Lords of the city after long deliberation released him. Whereupon Hackett appealed to the Margrave, and on the 12th April the Amant and Lords of Antwerp were summoned to the court at Mechlin, and there reprimanded and directed to apologise for the affront given to the English Envoy; which they did. Meanwhile Harman sustained 'greate hurte and hynderans in this world.'

We have in the first of Harman's two petitions to the Emperor, in July 1528, both written in Flemish, the exact grounds of his first accusation; for the following abstract of which I am indebted to Edward Levison, Esq., M.A., of the British Museum.

To the Emperor. Richart Hermans and his wife, arrested by the Margrave of Antwerp (1) for having received books from a German merchant (viz. New Testament in English without a gloss¹), and sold them to an English merchant who has had them conveyed to England; did not know he had done wrong, because he is 'no clerk' [1] (2) Also accused of sheltering suspected Lutherans; if so, he did it unwittingly, as many people are in the habit of lodging with him. (3) Also accused of eating meat on Saturday; did so with the knowledge and consent of his priest. As money is due by and to him, and he has much business with English merchants, who may soon depart and so leave him without means to pay his debts, begs the Emperor will give the Margrave an order to release them on solvent bail, promising to return to prison when ordered; especially as he has never supported any of Luther's opinions. *fol. 131. Orig.*

4. Here, as in our researches we leave the continent and return to England, we cannot but call special attention to the secret, we might almost say organised action of English merchants abroad, by whom Tyndale was sustained. Tyndale lands at Hamburgh, an unknown man, in May 1524; within eighteen months he has printed three books, counting Matthew and Mark as one: which apparently involved an investment of money approaching to $\text{£}10,000$ of the present day. He had to pay Roy and to defray the

¹ Although the date, July 1528, is comparatively late, this can be no other than the Octavo, inasmuch as Harman bought them of a German merchant.

No other English edition printed in Germany before this date is known.

expenses of living, travelling, and the like ; yet whether at Hamburg, at Cologne or at Worms, at Marburg or at Antwerp, he is personally cared for and supported in his great work. Money never failed him. We trace this assistance especially, in that the first impression of the Quarto was reduced from 6000 to 3000 not on the score of money but from fear of detection. And not only Tyndale, but Roy also. Had not Rinck been quick, the English merchants would have redeemed his anti-papal works from pawn, and scattered them through England. We know not the extent of this strong Protestant anti-Wolsey feeling, for many of the early printed English Protestant books which were produced abroad before 1532, such as *Hortulus Animæ* in English, the very earliest editions of *The Primer*, and the like, appear to have utterly perished. Yet there are sufficient of such works extant to show how heartily many English merchants on the continent laboured for the Reformation of their own country.

5. The printed English Testaments being ready, there was a people prepared to receive them. For upwards of a century, amid all manner of national vicissitudes, the Lollards had been multiplying written copies of the original translation of Wycliffe and of its revised version by John Purvey. They had increased, despite continuous persecution ; and were now a scattered unorganised association of tradesmen, craftsmen, and such like, especially numerous in those districts nearest the continent and therefore most accessible to influences from without, as in London and the Eastern Counties. Many of them learnt to read—an unusual accomplishment among the lower classes at that time ; and where they could not read, they often committed to memory entire doctrinal treatises or dialogues, if they were short ; or whole gospels or epistles of the New Testament. Fewer of them could write, yet it was through the devotion of those few that so many copies of the whole or portions of Holy Writ were spread through the country. They knew each other by the names of *brethren* and *sisters in Christ*, or as *known men* and *known women*. We get an explanation of these latter titles in the following passage of a book entitled *The Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy*, which one of their adversaries, Reginald Pecock, then Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote against them about the year 1449.

The firste of tho textis is written 1. Cor. xiiiije 7. in the eende thus : *Sotheli if eny man vnknowith, he schal be vnknowun.*¹ Ei this text thei taken that if eny man knowith not or putte not in what he mai his bisynes forto leerne the writing of the Bible, as it lijth in text, namelich the writing of the Newe Testament he schal be vnknown of God forto be eny of hise. And for this, that thei bisien hem silf forto leerne and knowe the Bible, namelich the Newe Testament, in the forme as it is writun word bi word in the Bible, thei geuen a name propre to hem silf and clepen hem silf *known men*, as thoug alle othere han them ben

¹ This is a very corrupt translation by Wycliffe. The Authorised Version has it, *But if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant* : 1 Cor. xiv. 38. The designation, though a perversion—very excusable consider-

ing that all the learning of the age was against them—based upon a mistranslation, shows how eager these men were after the Word of truth, as the revelation of the will and mind of God.

vnknowun ; and whanne oon of hem talkith with an other of hem of sum other iije [third] man, the heerer wole aske thus : ' Is he a knowen man ? ' and if it [he] answerid to him thus : ' Yhe, he is a knowen man, ' al is saaf, perel is not forto delg with him ; and if it be answerid to him thus : ' He is no knowen man ' thanne perel is castid forto miche homeli dele with him. *i. 53. Ed. 1860.*

While Lollardism had thus long been a standing element in the religious life of England ; there had lately come into the country from the continent two distinct influences of dissent ; the new ' learning, ' Hebrew, Greek, Plato, and the like ; and the new ' faith, ' the teaching of Luther and his colleagues. What Lollardism had done for the artisans, these two influences were doing for the Universities, and some of the clergy and monks ; unbinding their hearts from old delusions, attaching utterly new ideas to old familiar words, revealing a new way of salvation—faith simply on the Saviour of mankind—and especially giving insight into the depth, beauty, fulness, and sufficiency to teach, of the Sacred Scriptures. Now the Papal system was, and is chiefly founded upon false ideas being attached to words which are unquestionable. The English Hierarchy, as we shall presently see, instinctively felt that the sting of Tyndale's translation lay precisely in this. Tyndale also knew this to be *the* point of attack of all others, and inserted the following *Prologge* entirely for this purpose ; that right ideas should be attached to well known words. The three thousand errors with which his translations were charged were for the most part but so many new meanings attached to old words. We shall see presently the grossly dishonest way in which that number of exceptions was arrived at. Meanwhile we realise the superlative value and importance of a simple truthful translation of the Scriptures over all mere attacks or arguments, to the turning of the minds and hearts of Englishmen to a truer knowledge and a purer love of the Triune God.

6. One of the chief agents in the distribution in England was SIMON FYSHE, the author of *The Supplicacyon for the Beggars*. John Fox gives the following account of this boldhearted man in his *Acts, &c.*

' Maister Symon Fyshe, borne of a Noble stock, a gentleman of graies iime, one of a tall stature. A. xxxvi. yeare a goo the fyrst yeare after he came to London to dwell [which was about ye yeare of our Lord, 1505. *Ed. 1570*] there was a certeyne playe made by one maister Roo of the same iime gentilman, wherin partly ther was matter a geinist the Cardinall Wois-y. And where none durst take vpon them to playe that part which touched the saide Cardinall, this forsaid maister fishe toke vpon him to do it wherupon great displeasure followed vpon the Cardinall's part. In somuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinall the same night this tragedy was plaid, was compelled of force to voyde his owne house, and so fled ouer sea vnto Tindall. vpon occasion wherof the next yeare following this boke was made, [being about the yeare 1527] *Ed. 1570*] and so fnot long after in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528, was *Ed. 1570*] sent ouer to my Lady Anne Bulleyn, who then lay at a place not farre from the Courte. Whiche booke her brother seinge in her hande, tooke it and reade it, and gaue it her againe, willing her earnestly to giue it to the king, which thing she so did. *1st Ed., 1563 ; p. 448 ; 2nd Ed., 1570, p. 1152.*

We have quoted this statement merely to confute it in some particulars. There is an earlier description of this play, which was performed in the Christmas of 1526-7. Tyndale was at that time in Worms.

This Christmas was a goodly disguising plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by Master Iohn Roo, seriant at the law, xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lorde gouernaunce was ruled by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euil order, lady Publike wele was put from gouernance, which caused Rumor Populi. Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignitie, to ryse with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with straunge diuises of Maskes and morishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym, and in a great furie sent for the saied master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highly rebuked and thretened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of freendes Master Roo and he wer deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you haue harde, wherefor mauny wysemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and euer the Cardinall saied that the Kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymselfe. *The xviith. yere of Hen. VIII.*: [22 Apr. 1526—21 Apr. 1527] *fol.* 154. *Ed.* 1548.

There is a letter, date 6 February 1527, in the State Paper Office, of Archbishop Warham, deprecating the excessive punishment of Serjeant Roo. The date of the play is therefore beyond question. It is certain that Fyshe did not go beyond the seas to Tyndale, in January 1527. He may for a time have been in hiding: otherwise when the storm had blown over he occupied his own house in Whitefriars up to the spring of 1528, and was busily engaged in superintending the sale of the New Testaments which he had received from Richard Harman.

William Rastell, Serjeant at law, who edited the English 'Workes' of his uncle Sir Thomas More, states that *The Supplicacyon of Soulys* was 'made' in 1529. It was certainly *written* after Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (the printing of which, at Marburg in Hesse, was finished on 8 October 1528) had reached England, as the note at *p.* 28 testifies. It could therefore have hardly been *written* until early in 1529. It was *published*—as the title-page of the first edition witnesses—while More was still only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and therefore before 25 October 1529, when he became Lord Chancellor. More was also abroad signing the Treaty of Cambrai in July and August [the treaty was signed on 5 August], and with the King at Woodstock in September: his *Supplicacyon* was therefore in all likelihood *written* in the spring of the year, though it may have been published while he was on the continent.

The composition of More's *Supplicacyon* fixes with certainty the *publication* of Fyshe's *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, to which it is a prompt reply, to have been early in 1529. 'That dyspytuouse and dyspyteful person/ which of late vnder pretexte of pyte/ made and put forth among you/ a boke that he namyd the supplicacyon for the beggars/' *fol.* 1. Fox states that Fyshe's *Invective* was 'throwen and scattered at the procession in Westminster upon Candlemas day, before the king,' and that Wolsey caused his servants 'diligently to attende to gather them up that they should not come into the kinges handes.' *pp.* 445-9. *Ed.* 1563.

Fyshe may have gone abroad as soon as the persecution of 1528 arose; and there printed his *Supplicacyon*, which is a small eight-paged tract, now excessively scarce. Anyhow he was soon back again in London; where he died in 1530.

7. But the most precise evidence as to the Distribution is to be found in the confession of ROBERT NECTON, made apparently at London in 1528. It is reprinted by Strype from the Registries of the Bishop of London. There is no date, but it was certainly made about the middle of that year. Necton distinctly refers to this Quarto edition as 'of the great volume,' 'of the biggest': to the Octavo edition as 'of the smal volume': and to the first surreptitious edition, printed by Christopher Endhoven at Antwerp in the autumn of 1526, in the edition that was offered to him about Christmas 1527, by the 'Duche' *i. e.* German man. He also gives us information as to the prices at which the Testaments were sold.

ME bowght at sondry tymes of Mr Fyshe dwellyng by the Whight Frears in London, many of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now v. and now x. And sometye mo, and sometye less, to the nombre of xx. or xxx. in the gret volume. The which New Testaments the said Mr Fyshe had of one Harmond, an English man, heying beyond see. But how many he had this respondent cannot tell. And this respondent saith, that about a yere and half agon he fell in a quaintance with Vicar Constantyne here in London. Which shewed this respondent first, that the said Mr Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr Fyshe. And the said Mr Fyshe, at the desire and instance of Vicar Constantine, browghte the said New Testaments home to this respondents house. And before that Vicar Constantine caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments, he had none, nor no other books, except the chapters of Matthew.¹

And moreover, this respondent saith, that about the same tyme he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore synging man, in Stowmarket in Suffolk, for vii. or viii. grotes a pece [2s. 4d. or 2s. 8d. equal to £1 15s. od. or £2 os. od. now]. Also, two of the same New Testaments in Bury St Edmonds: that is to say, to Reynold Wodelesse one; and Thomas Horfan another, for the same price.

Also, he saith, that about Cristmas last, he sold one New Testament to a Priste; whose name he cannot tell, dwellyng at Pycknam Wade in Northfolke; and two Latin books the one *Oeconomia Christiana*;² and the other *Unio Dissidentium*.³ Also, one Testament to William Gibson merchaunt man, of the parish of S. Magaret Patens.

Also, Vicar Constantyne at dyvers tymes had of this respondent about a xv. or xvi. of the New Testaments of the biggest. And this respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar Constantyne dyvers tymes

¹ Evidently Tyndale's first publication.

² This book has defied my research. All I can learn of it is its fuller title, *Economica Christiana rem christianam instituens*.

³ A Protestant work by the 'venerable' Doctor, Herman Bedius. Of the Latin editions of separate parts, separately issued one after the other, before 1527, I have been unable to see a copy; but have inspected a French edition, *L'union de toute discordie*, printed by Martin Empereur at Antwerp in 1532. It is a collection of passages of Scripture and of extracts from 17 of the early Fathers; and has for its motto *Spes mea Iesus*. The first treats of (1) Adam's transgression and original sin. (2) All men are sinners through Adam. (3) How

we are delivered from sin, and concerning infant baptism. (4) Concerning predestination, vocation, justification, and glorification. (5) Concerning the double law, *i. e.* the natural law and the positive law. (6) The works of the law. (7) Of judicial law and the secular sword. (8) Of grace and merit. (9) Of faith and its works.

The second part treats (10) Of the sufficiency of the word of God. (11) Of penitence and the three modes of confession. (12) Of brotherly rebuke. (13) Of abstinence and fasting. (14) Of prayer. (15) Of the labour of the hands. (16) Of pardons and indulgences. (17) Of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. (18) Of the order of the ecclesiastical constitution. (19) That

bought of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments; and this respondent lykewise, of hym. Also, he sold Sir Richard Dayfell two New Testaments unbound, about Cristmas last; for the which he payd iiii liii*l.* [*£2 10*s.* 0*d.**.]

Furthermore, he saith, that he hath sold v. or vi. of the said N. Testaments to diverse persons of the cite of London, whose namys, or dwelling places, he doth not remember.

Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bowght of Geffray [Lohne] Usher of Saynet Antonyes, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of a yere, or therabout (by reason he was Mr Forman, the person of Hony Lane his servant, and for that this respondent did moche resort to the said persons sermons) xviii. N. Testaments in English of the smal volume, and xxvi. books, al of one sort, called *Oeconomia Christiana* in Latin; and two other books in Latin, called *Unio Dissidentium*. For which he payed hym xi. *s.* [*£30.*] Of the which *Oeconomia Christiana* Vicar Constantyne had xiiii. at one tyme.

And of which N. Testaments since Easter this respondent caryed xv. of them, and the other xxiii. *Oeconomia Christiana*, to Lynne, to sell. Which he wold have sold to a young man, called William merchant man, dwelling by one Mr. Burde of the same towne. Which young man wold not medle with them, because they were prohibite. And so this respondent left the said books at Lynne with the said William, untill his retorning thider ayen. And so the said bookes do remayne ther still, as yet. And two of the said N. Testaments he hath in his own custodie, with another of the great volume. Also, another Testament of the smal volume he sold since Easter to young Elderton, merchant man, of Saynet Mary Hill parishe.

Howbeit he saith, that he knew not that any of thies bookes were of Luthers sect.

To the xviiiith [*i. e.* article of the Indictment], That he hath byn a *receptor*, he saith, that he twice or thryse hath byn in Thomas Mathews house of Colchestre. Whereas he hath red diverse tymes in the N. Testament in English, before the said Thomas Matthew, his wife, William Dykes, and other servantes ther. And there, and then have herd old Father Hacker speke of prophesies; and have had communications of diverse articles; which he doth not now remember.

To the xixth, so begynnyn, *That he went about to by a great nombre of N. Testaments*, he saith, that about Cristmas last, there came a Duché man, beyng now in the Flete, which wold have sold this respondent, ii or iii bundreth of the said N. Testaments in English; which this respondent did not by; but sent him to Mr Fyshe to by them; and said to the Duché man, Look what Mr Fyshe doth, I wil do the same. But whether Mr Fyshe bowght any of them, he cannot tell: for which iii. hundreth he shold have paid xvii. *vs.*, after *1*xd.** a pece. [*£300* at *9*d.** wold amount to *£11 5*s.* 0*d.**: representing *11*s.* 3*d.** and *£168 15*s.* 0*d.** now. The price offered was evidently put at the very lowest.]

To the xx. article, *That he is inframed*; he saith, that since Easter last, he was at Norwiche at his brothers house, wher as one had complayned of this respondent to my Lord of Norwiche, because he had a N. Testament. Wherfor his brother councelid this respondent to send or delyver his said N. Testament: and said to him, If he wold not delyver it, my Lord of Norwiche wold send him to my Lord of London, his Ordinary. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the caryer.

To the xxi. article, so begynnyn, *That contrary to the prohibition, he hath kept the New Testament*, he confessith, that after he had knowledge of the condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a yere, or more, he hath had in his custodie, kept, and studyed the same Testament, and have red it thoroughly many tymes. And also have red in it as wel within the cite and diocess of London, as within the cite and diocesse of Norwiche. And not onely red it to himself, but redd and tawght it to diverse other.

To the xxii. he answereth and denyeth, that he had Wycliefs Wycket or the Apocalips at any tyme.

J. STRYPE, *Eccles. Mem. I. Part II. pp. 63-5. Ed. 1822.*

Per me ROBERT NECTON.¹

all the faithful are priests, kings, and prophets; but all are not ministers of the church. (20) Of the honour due to saints. (21) Of the burial of the dead. (22) Of Antichrist. (23) Of the flight and persecutions of Christians. (24) Of the essence of divinity. The Fathers quoted are Ambrose, Athanasius, Augustine, Bede, Bernard, Chrysostom, Clemens, Cyprian, Cyril, Fulgentius,

Gregory, Hilarius, Jerome, Lactantius, Origen, Tertullian, Theophylactus. This work was of great value in proving that the doctrine of the Reformers agreed with that of the Fathers and of Scripture.

¹ The general tenour of the confession would seem to show that Necton was answering three general charges: as to the Quarto, then as to the Octavo, then as to the Antwerp impression.

Necton, whose brother was Sheriff of Norwich in 1530, and who himself appears to have been of good position, does not seem to have carried on this hazardous work of colportage for the sake of money; but to have sold the Testaments approximately at cost price, viz. at about two shillings or two shillings and sixpence each, bound [equal to £1 10s. *od.* to £1 17s. *6d.* each].

If three thousand copies were struck off of each edition by Tyndale's printers; the amount invested by the English merchants, who supported him in the two impressions, at two shillings each copy, was £600, representing £9,000 of the present day. It would seem also from the above, that the Octavo copies were cheaper than those in Quarto: but Necton's deposition is not sufficiently clear to determine by how much.

8. Respecting Constantine¹ and Necton, there is the following later information in Sir Thomas More's *Confutacyon of Tyndales Answere*, 1532: with which we must here dismiss them.

As George Constantyne ere he escaped, was redy to haue in worde at the leste wyse abiured all that holy doctryne [*More is speaking derisively*] what his herte was god and he know, and peradventure the deuyll to yf he entended otherwyse. But surely there was entended toward hym somwhat more good, then his dealynge had byfore deserued. And so mych the more fauour was there mynded hym, in that he semed very penyent of his mysse vsynge of hym selfe, in fallynge to Tyndales heresy agayne. For whyche he knowledged hym selfe worthy to be hanged, that he hadde so falsely abused the kynges graciouse remission and pardon geuen hym byfore/ and hadde for all that in the whyle both bought and solde of those heretycall boke, and secretly set forth those heresy. Wherof he shewed hym selfe so repentaunt, that he vttered and dysclosed dyuers of hys companyons, of whom there are some abiured synnyng, that he wyste well were abiured before, namely Rycharde Necton whyche was by Constantynes deteccyon taken and comytted to Newgate/ where except he hadde to dye before in pryson, he standeth in grete paryll to bê ere it be longe, for hys fallynge agayne to Tyndales heresy burned.

How be it Necton now syth he was taken sayed that hys wyfe had burned them. But it is well knowen that Necton had hym selfe and a man of hys also, solde many such boke of heresy, bothe in London and in other shyres syth his abiuracyon. Cc.i.

How be it as for Constantyne as I sayd before, semed in pryson here very penyent, and vtterly mynded to forsake such heresy and heretykes for euer. In profe wherof he not onely deteced as I sayd hys owne dedes and his felowes, but also studied and deuynd how those deulysshe booke whyche hym selfe and other of hys felowes hadde brought and shyped, myghte come to the bysshoppes handes to be burned. And

¹ The following somewhat *incorrect* account of this man may be preserved in a note.

George Constantine, born about 1504, received his education in Cambridge university, and was bachelor of canon law 1524. Adopting Protestant opinions he went to Antwerp, where he assisted Tyndale and Joye in the translation of the New Testament, and the compilation of various books exposing the corruptions of the church and the superstition of the age. Whilst in Brabant he practised for a year as a surgeon. About 1530 he was seized on a visit he made to England for the dispersion of prohibited books. He was examined by sir Thomas More, and is said to have made disclosures as to his associates

abroad in order to escape punishment for heresy. It seems however that sir Thomas More set him in the stocks, and that he made his escape and went again to Antwerp. He was residing in Wales 1530. About 1546 he became registrar of the diocese of St. David's, and in 1549 archdeacon of Carmarthen. He was one of the principal accusers of Ferrar bishop of St. David's, but before the death of that prelate was reconciled to him. In 1559 he became archdeacon of Brecon, which office was vacated the same year by his death. It appears that he was married, and had a daughter who was the wife of Thomas Young, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and ultimately archbishop of York. C. H. and T. COOPER, *Ath. Cantab. i.* 205, *Ed.* 1858.

therefore he shewed me the shyppmannes name that had them, and the markes of the ferdellys, by which I haue synnys hys escape receyved them. And it maye be by goddes grace, that though the man fled hense for feare of suche harme as he wyste he had well deserved/ and yet was nothynge towarde hym, but peradventure more good then he was ware of: he is yet amended in hys mynde and hath in hys harte forsaken all Tyndales heresynges, and so I pray god it be/ for I wold be sory yat euer Tyndalç sholde glory and boste of hys burnynges. How be it in the meane whyle, tyll it may well appeer that he be surely turned to the catholyke fayth agayne, I wil aduise all good crysten folke and specyally tbe kynges subiectes, to forbere and estyew [eschuwe] hys company. For yat englyshe man which shall be founden to be famylar wyth hym there, before his conuersyon here knowen and proued, maye therby bryng hym selfe in suspicyon of heresyng, and hapely here thereof at hys retournyng hyther. Cc. ii.

9. It is with regret that we cannot enter here into the story of ROBERT BARNES, D.D., the Augustine monk of Cambridge; of his Sermon on Christmas Eve, 24 Dec. 1525, and the consequent trouble that came to him through it until it climaxed in that 'gorgeous fasyng with myters, and cros-staues, abbots and pryours,' with Wolsey enthroned at their head, at St. Paul's on Sunday 11 Feb. 1526. There Barnes was put to open penance and thence returned to the Fleet, where he remained about six months. After which he was a free prisoner at the Augustine Friary in London, where we have the following pictures of him, actively engaged in the distribution of the printed New Testaments.

John Tyball of Steeple Bumsted, on 28 April 1528, deposed as follows.

Furthermore, he saythe, that at Mychaelmasse last past was twelue monethe this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englyshe, as he saythe. And they found the sayd Freer Barons in his chamber; wheras there was a merchant man, reading in a booke, and ii. or iii. more present. And when they came in, the Frear demawnded them, from whence they cam. And they said, from Bumstede; and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd Freer Barons, that th[e]y myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his counsel in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he saithe, that the sayd Frear Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have the New Testament. And then farther they shewyd the sayd Frear, that one Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was well entred in ther lernyng; and sayd, that they thoughte to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherefore they desyryd the sayd Frear Barons to make a letter to hym, that he wold continew in that he had begon. Which Frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a letter at afternoone, and to gete them a New Testament. And then after that communication, the sayd Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had: as of iiiii. Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englyshe. Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd little regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englyshe. For it is of more cleyner Englyshe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe: for which they payd iiis iiii d. [£1 12s. 6d.] and desyred them, that they wold kepe yt close. For he wolde be loth that it shold be known, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the Frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament in Latyn to a cymball tynkklyng, and brasse sowndyng. But what farther exposition he made uppon it, he cannot tell. And then at afternoone they fett the sayd letter of the sayd Frear, which he wrote to Sir Richard: and red that openly before them, but he doth not now remember what was in the same. And so departed from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or write to hym, as he saithe. Also, he saithe, that abowgh a half year agone, he delyverid the sayd New Testament to Frear Gardyner; which he never had ageyne.

J. STRYPE. *Eccles. Mem. I. Part 11, pp. 54-5. Ed. 1822.*

Harl. MSS. 421, fol. 35, contains what is without doubt the correspond-

ing deposition of T. Hilles, servant of Christopher Raven a tailor of Wytham. It runs thus :

Also he saithe that about whyntontyde was twelf moneth he came to london with Iohn Tyball and speke with frear barons at frears Augustyns in his chambre and the said Iohn Tyball told the said frear barons that they came from Cantebrige to by some of the new testaments. And in his chambre they fownde a young gentleman whom he did not know hauyng a chayne about his neck, to whom the said frear did rede in the newe testament and this respondent taryed still in his chambre and herd hym rede a chapitour of powle as he remembrith and after that done I. Tyball moued the said frear barons of sir Richard Ffox and shewed that sir Richard was well lerned and rekened that he wold do well wherfore he desyred frear barons that he wold wryte a louyng letter to the said sir Richard which frere barons so wrote a letter to the said sir Richard which letter after he had wryten it he did rede it to this respondent and Iohn Tyball, howbe it he doth not now remembre what was conteyned in it and delynered to Tyball. And afterward eche of them bowght a new testament in Englyshe of hem and paid iijs [£2 5s. 0d.] for a pece, which he kept after that it was forboiyden [? Sept. or Oct. 1526] vntyll the sonday before myd lent last past [8 March 1528]. In which new testament he red in Roger a Tanner house of bres Gyfford, bowler hall, mother Bochers and mother Chartès, and at last sold the said new testament to sir Richard Ffox.

10. Of the labours of GEOFFRAY LOLME, STEPHEN FORMAN, S.T.P., and other suspected Distributors, not much detailed information has come down to us.

11. These Testament-Circulators deserve to be held in perpetual honour. They were anti-Papists before the Testaments arrived in this country. "They instinctively saw in them the great instruments of deliverance of the people from priestly thralldom that weighed so heavily upon them : and at the hazard of all their worldly health and wealth, they devoted themselves to the dangerous work of their distribution far and wide.

12. It may be interesting to close this section with the records of the earliest possession of the printed New Testaments in England, viz. in March and April 1526, as yet known.

John Pykas, a baker of Colchester, confessed on 7 March 1528 :—

That about a v years last past at a certayne tyme his mother then dwelling in Bury sent for hym and moynd hym that he shuld not beleve in the sacraments of the church for that was not the ryght way. And then she delyvered to this respondent. on[e] booke of powles Epistles in Englyshe and bide hym lyve after the maner and way of the said epistles and gospels and not after the way that the church doth teche. Also about a ij yere last past he bowght in Colchester of a lumbard of london a new testament in Englyshe and paid for it iijs [£3] which new testament he kept by the space of iiij yeres [? months] and red it thoroughly many tymes. And afterward when he hard that the said new testament was forboden that no man should kepe them. he delyvered it and the book of powles Epistles to his mother ayen. *Harl. MSS.* 421, fol. 17.

John Tyball of Steeple Bumsted, already quoted, confessed on 28 April 1528 :—

Furthermore, he saythe, that abowght ii yeres agon he companyed with Sir Richard Foxe Curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his bookys that he had ; that is to say, the New Testamente in Englyshe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englyshe ; which he had of John Pykas of Colchester ; and a book expounding the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo* ; certain of Powles Epistles in Englyshe, after th[e] old translation ; the iiii Evangelists in Englyshe.

J. STRYPE. *Eccles. Mem.* I, Part II., pp. 52-3. Ed. 1822.

VI. *The Persecution in England.*

The hunting down of the Book (and it is with that chiefly that we have to do) preceded the punishment of its readers.

1. Our earliest printed information of the very first action of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishops respecting the destruction of the printed New Testaments comes to us in the name of the King himself.

Luther, on 1st Sept. 1525, wrote his second letter to Henry VIII. ; but with bad taste published it before the King himself received it, which was not till the 20th of March, 1526. Some time afterwards Henry printed his answer, with Luther's letter; prefixing to both a short preface *Pio Lectori*; all three in Latin: in a small book entitled *Literarium*, . . . *quibus respondet ad quandam epistolam Lutheri*, the printing of which was finished by R. Pynson on the 2nd of December, 1526.

Not satisfied with this, Henry subsequently had this work translated into English: *A copy of the letters wherein the most redouted and mighty prince| our soucrayne lorde kyng Henry the eight| kyng of Englande and of Fraunce| defensor of the faith| and lorde of Irelande: made answere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther| sent vnto hym by the same| and also a copy of ye foresayd Luthers letter| in suche order| as here after followeth*: which was also printed by Pynson, without date: but the latest date assignable to it cannot be long after the beginning of 1527. For Jerome doubtless got the account he gave to Roy of the Episcopal 'consistory,' from it.

To this English translation there was added in the King's name a special preface in which occurs the following passage.

For we doute nat but it is well knowne to you all| that Martyn Luther late a frere Augustyne| and now ron out in Apostacy and wedded| hath nat onely scraped out of the asshe| and kyndeled agayne| almost all the embres of those olde errors and heresyesh that euer heretyke helde sythe Christ was borne hytherto: but hath also addede some so poysoned pointes of his owne| so wretched.| so vyle| so detestable| prouokynge men to myschefe| encoragynge the worlde to syn| preachynge an vsnaciat lyberte| to alleden them with all| and finally| so farre against all honesty| vertue and reason| that neuer was there erst any heretyke| so farre voyde of all grace and wyt| that durst for shame speke them. We therefore seynge these heresyesh sprede abrode| and inwardly sorowynge so many christen soules to ron to ruyn| as hath done in other regions| by the occasyon of suche pestylent errorsh| entyndng for our parte| somewhat to set hande therto| wrote after our meane lernynge| a lytell treatyse| for the assertyon and probatyon of the holy sacramentes: In whiche we reprodred| and as we trust| sufficiently refuted and conuynced| the most parte of the detestable heresyesh of the sayde Luther| contaynged in his abhominable boke| entytuled *de Babilonica Captiuitate*. For angre and fure wherof vpon two yeres after| Luther wrote and sent oute agaynst vs a boke| nothyng answering to ye mater| but all reason sette asyde| stuffed vp his booke with only furious raylynge| whiche his boke we regardynge| as it was worthy| contempned and nat wolde vouche safe any thing to reply| reputyng our selfe in Christes cause| nat to good with a ryght meauie man to rensou or contrary| but nothing metely frutelesse with a leude Frere to rayle. So came it than to passe| that Luther at laste| perceyuyng wyse men to espye hym| lerned men to leaue hym| good men to abhorre hym| and his frantye fauourers to fall to wracke| the nobles and honest people in Almaygne| beyng taught by the profe of his vngratuous practyse| moche more hurt and myschefe to folowe therof| than euer they looked after| denyed a letter to vs| writtne| to abuse them and all other nations| in such wyse| as ye by the contentes therof| hereafter shal well

perceyue. In whiche he fayneth himselfe to be enformed that we he turned to the fauour of his secte. And with many flatering wordes he laboreth to haue vs content that he myght be bolde to write to vs in the mater and cause of the gospell: And thervpon without answeere had from vs nat onely publysshed the same letter and put it in print of purpose that his adherentes shulde be the bolder vnder ye shadowe of our fauour but also fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons borne in this our realme for the translatyng of the Newe testament in to Englysshe as well with many corruptions of that holy text as certayne prefaces and other pestylente gloses in the margentes for the aduancement and setting forth of his adbomynable heresyentendyng to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion that you oure delye beloued people beare towarde the holy scripture and to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errors. In the aduoydyng wherof we of our especial tendre zeale towards you haue with the deliberate aduise of the most reuerende fater in god Thomas lorde Cardynall legate de Later of the see apostolyke Archebysshop of yorke primate and our Chauncellour of this realme and other reuerende fathers of the spyritualtye determyned the sayd and vntrue translatyons to be brenned with further sharpe correction and punishment against the keepars and reders of the same rekenyng of your wisdomes very sure that ye wyll well and thankfully perceyue our tendre and louyng mynde towarde you therein and that ye will neuer be so gredy vppon any swete wyne be the grape neuer so plesaunt that ye wyll desyre to taste it beynge well aduertised yat your enemy before hath poisoned it. . . .

¶ We therefore our well-beloued people nat wylling you by such subtell meanes to be disceyued or seduced haue of our especial fauour toward you translated for you and gyuen out vnto you as well his said letter written to vs as our answeere also made vnto the same: By the sight wherof ye may partely perceyue bothe what the man is in hym selfe and of what sorte is his doctrine.

From the Bodleian copy of this excessively rare tract.

There was then indubitably a secret deliberation of the Cardinal and the Bishops at some time after Tonstall's arrival home in April, 1526; and, as we shall immediately see, before or in the October following.

2. One of the first results of this concerted action was the sermon at Paul's Cross by Tonstall, Bishop of London, in which he told the people that there were three thousand errors in the translation, and made the other statements quoted by Roy, see pp. 30-31. On this occasion Tyndale's New Testaments were first officially denounced, and publicly *burnt*.

Though the date of this Sermon and *Auto da fè* cannot be exactly recovered, it may provisionally—until demonstrative proof turns up—be placed in September or October of that year.

A confused rumour of the occurrence reached even to Rome; and there is extant a letter of Cardinal Campeggio to Wolsey, dated Rome, 21 November, 1526, which begins with the following passage—

Non possum non maxime lætari, cum quotidiè intelligam a serenissimo et potentissimo Rege nostro ope[ra] et diligentia Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ, aliquod opus gloriosum et salutare pro tuenda religione Christiana in isto su[lo] regno geri, sicuti nuper cum summa eius laude et gloria auditum est, Majestatem suam sacrum B[ibliæ] codicem, qui ad peruertendum pijs fidelium simplicium mentes a perfidis abominaandæ sectæ Lut[heranæ] sectatoribus uernaculo sermone deprauatur, et ad eius regnum delatus fuerat, iustissime comburi fecisse. Quo certe nullum gratius omnipotentis

I cannot but greatly rejoice, when I hear daily from our most serene and most powerful king, that by your most illustrious Lordship's assistance and diligence, a glorious and saving work is being carried on in his kingdom for the protection of the Christian religion; as, for instance, we lately heard, to his Majesty's great praise and glory, that he had most justly caused to be burnt a copy of the Holy Bible, which had been mistranslated into the common tongue by the faithless followers of Luther's abominable sect, to pervert the pious minds of simple believers, and had been brought into his kingdom.

Deo holocaustum fieri potuit. Persistat igitur Illustrissima [Dominatio vestra] in ea in qua est specula, et pium Christianissimumque illud regnum a tam scelerata et peruersa heresi, (uti semper fecit) tueatur atque defendat. Vt Maximi Regis nostri proprium decus sit Christianam fidem non minus felicissimis armis quam diuino ingenio summis lucubrationibus et exacta dilige[n]tia a sceleratis hostibus protexisse et in tutiorem, felicioremque statum redegit. Quod ego, qui eius[us] incomparabiles uirtutes optime noui, omnibus affirmo, et futurum certissime confido.—
Cott. MSS. Vit. B. viii. 164.

Assuredly no burnt offering could be more pleasing to Almighty God.

May your most Illustrious Lordship long continue on your present watchtower, and protect and defend, as you have always done, that pious and most Christian kingdom, from so accursed and perverse a heresy, so that the peculiar glory of our great king may be to have protected the Christian faith from the accursed enemies, not less by successful war, than by his divine talents, great studies, and careful diligence, and to have brought the faith into a safer and more happy state. Of this, I, who well know his incomparable virtues, assure every one, and I most assuredly trust that it will be so.

Henry may have himself, as a symbolical and official act, burnt one copy of Tyndale's translation (for no English Bible existed at the time or for long after); but it is far more reasonable to take the Rumour in Rome as originating from the Burning at Paul's Cross. If so, allowing a month backwards from 21 November for the news to travel to the Papal Court, we get the middle of October as the approximate date of Tonstall's Sermon and Bonfire.

3. This seems the more probable: inasmuch as without doubt that Sermon and its attendant Fire were only a part of a general scheme of attack on the Forbidden Book: and it was on the 24th of October, 1526, that Tonstall issued the following injunction to his four Archdeacons of London, Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, after the manner of the following one.

Cutbertus permissione diuina Lond. Episcopus dilecto nobis in Christo Archidiacono nostro Londo, seu eius officiali, salutem gratiam et benedictionem.

Ex pastoralis officij nostri debito ea quæ ad subiectionem nostrorum periculum, et maxime ad interfectionem animarum earundem tendere dinoscuntur, salubriter propellere et totis viribus extirpare astringimur. Sane ex fide dignorum relatione ipsaque rei euidencia, ad nostram iamdudum peruenit noticiam, quod nonnulli iniquitatis filij ac Lutherane factionis ministri quos summa excæcauit malicia, a via veritatis et orthodoxæ fidei declinantes, sanctum dei euangelium in vulgare nostrum Anglicanum subdola uersutia transferentes ac nonnullos hæreticæ prauitatis articulos et opiniones erroneas perniciosas pestiferas, scandalosas et simplicium mentium seductiuas intermiscentes, illibatam hactenus sacræ scripturæ maiestatem, suis nepharijs et tortuosis interpretationibus prophanare, et verbo domini sacrosancto et recto sensu eiusdem callide et peruerse abuti teotarint. Cuius quidem translationis no-

TRANSLATION BY JOHN FOX.

Cutbert by the permission of god, byshop of London, vnto our wellbeloued in christ the Archdeacon of London, or to his official, helth grace and benediction.

By the deuty of our pastorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our pover to forsee, prouide for, roote out and put away all those things, which seme to tende to the perill and daunger of our subiectes and specially ye destruction of ther soules, wherfor we hauing vnderstanding by ye reporte of diuers credible persones, and also by the euident apparance of the matter, that many children of iniquitie maintainers of Luthers sect, blinded through extreame wickednes, wandring from the way of truth and the catholike faith, craft[ely] haue translated the new testament into our English tongue, entermedding therewith many hereticall articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing ye simple people, attempting by their wicked and peruerse interpretations to prophanate ye maiestie of the scripture, whiche hetherto hath remayned vndefiled, and craftely to

nulli libri impressi quidam cum glosis, quidam sine glosis, ut accepimus, dictum pestiferum et perniciosum virus in vulgari idiomate in se continentes in promiscuum nostrarum dioc. et iurisdictionis Lond. multitudine sunt dispersi, qui sane gregem nobis commissum, nisi citius provideatur tam pestifero veneno et mortifero pravitatis hæreticæ morbo, proculdubio inficient et contaminabunt in animarum nobis commissarum graue periculum et diuinæ maiestatis grauissimam offensam.

Vnde nos Cuthbertus episcopus ante dictus de predictis magnopere dolentes et antiqui hostis calliditati ire, quam suis satellitibus ad animarum subditorum nostrarum interemptionem subministrat, obuiam curaque pastoralis super grege nobis commissio diligenter inuigilare ac remedia opportuna præmissis adhibere cupentes, vobis coniunctim et diuisim committimus ac firmiter in virtute sanctæ obedienciæ qua nobis tenemini iniungendo mandamus, quatenus auctoritate nostra moueatis monerive faciatis omnes et singulos tam exemptos quam non exemptos, infra vestrum Archidiaconatum vbi libet commorantes, quatenus infra xxx. dierum spacium quorum quidem dierum decem pro primo, decem pro secundo, et decem pro tertio et peremptorio termino sub excommunicationis pœna ac criminis hæreseos suspiciōis incurrendæ eis assignamus, omnes et singulos huiusmodi libros translationem noui testamenti in vulgarem linguam factam continentes ad nos seu nostrum in spiritualibus vicarium generalem inferat et realiter tradant. Et quid in præmissis feceritis nos aut vicarium nostrum huiusmodi infra duos menses a die dati presentium debite certificare personaliter vel per literas vestras patentes vna cum præsentibus autentice sigillatas non omitatis sub pœna contemptus.

Dat. sub sigillo nostro 24. die mensis Octobris An. M.D. 26, nostræ cons. An. quinto.

Fox, *Actes, &c.*, p. 449. 1st Ed. 1563.

4. A further presumption of a previous examination of the Translation, and a concerted plan respecting it, may be found in that the *grauamen* of Archbishop Warham's Mandate of 3 Nov., 1526, as addressed to Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, is identical with that of Tonstall's Injunction.

Willielmus, permissione diuina Cant. archiepiscopus, etc. vener. confratri nostro domino Johanni, Dei gratia Exon. episcopo, vestro vicario in spiritualibus generali, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem.

Ex pastoralis officii nostri debito ea, quæ ad subjectorum nostrorum, periculum et maxime ad interuentionem animarum earundem tendere dignoscuntur, salubriter propellere, et totis viribus extirpare astringimur. Sane ex fide dignorum relatione ipsaque rei euidentiâ ad nostram iamdudum pervenit notitiâ, quod nonnulli iniquitatis filii, ac Lutheranae factionis ministri, quos summa cæcæcavit malitia, a via veritatis et orthodoxæ fidei declinantes, non modo sanctum Dei evangelium, sed etiam reliquam Novi Testamenti partem in vulgare nostrum Anglicanum subdola versutiâ transferentes, ac nonnullos hæreticæ pravitatis articulos, et opiniones erroneas, perniciosas, pestiferas, scandalosas, et simplicium mentium seductivas introniscentes, illibatam hactenus sacræ scripturæ maiestatem, sub nefariis et tortuosis inter-

abuse the moste holy word of God, and the true sence of the same, of the whiche translation there are many bokes imprinted, some with gloses and some without, conteyning in the english tongue that pestiferous and moste pernicious poyson dispersed throughout all our dioces of London in great number, whiche truly without it be spedely forsenne without doubt will contaminate and infect the flocke committed vnto vs, with moste deadly poyson and heresy. To the greuous perill and daunger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maiestic.

Wherfore we Cuthbert the byshop aforesaid, greuously sorowing for the premisses, willing to withstaude the craft and subtletie of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seke the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heade vnto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide spedely remedies for ye premisses, we charg[e] you iointly and seuerally, and by virtue of your obedience, straightly enioyne and commaund you that by our aurtorytie you warne or cause to be warned, all and singular aswell exempte as not exempt, dwelling with in your Archdecon[ri]es. that with in. xxx. daies space, whereof ten daies for the first. x. for the second. and. x. for ye third peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurring the suspiciō of heresie, they do bring in and really deliuer vnto our vicar general, all and singular such books conteyning the translation of ye new testament in the English tongue, and that you doo caryfe vs or our said commissary, within. li. monthes, after the day of the date of these presents, dewly, personally or by your leters, together with these presents, vnder your seales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder paine of contempt.

Geuen vnder our seale the xxiii[j]. of October, in the v. yeare of oure consecration.

pretationibus profanare, et verbo Domini sacrosancto, et recto sensu ejusdem callide et perverse abuti temptarunt. Cujus quidem translationis nonnulli libri impressi, quidam cum glossis, quidam sine glossis, ut accepimus, dictum pestiferum et perniciosum virus in vulgari idiomate in se continentes, in promiscuum vestrarum dioec. et provinciae Cant. multitudinem sunt dispersi, qui sane gregem nobis et vobis commissum, in [n]i[sc]itius provideatur, tam pestifero veneno, et mortifero pravitatis haereticae morbo proculdubio inficient, et contaminabunt, in animarum vobis et vobis commissarum grave periculum, et divinae majestatis gravissimam offensam.

Unde nos Willielmus, archiepiscopus antedictus, de praedictis magnopere dolentes, et antiqui hostis calliditate, quam suis satellitibus, ad animarum dictorum nostrorum subditorum interemptionem subministrat, obviam ire volentes, vos hortamur et nihilominus (quia res gravis praedicti agit) in virtute sanctae obedientiae firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus cum ea, qua decet, celeri diligentia moneatis, monerive faciatis omnes et singulos, tam exemptos quam non exemptos, infra vestram dioec. ubilibet commorantes, quatenus infra 30. dierum spatium, quorum quidem dierum decem pro primo, decem pro secundo, et decem pro tertio et peremptorio termino, sub excommunicationis poena, ac criminis haereseos suspicionis incurrendo eis assignetur, omnes et singulos huiusmodi libros, translationem Novi Testamenti, vel aliquam ejus particulam in vulgarem linguam factam continentes, ad vos seu vestrum in spiritualibus vicarium generalem iuferant, et realiter tradant per vos seu vestram auctoritatem igni committendos. Et quid in praemissis feceritis, nos citra ultimum diem mensis Ianuarii prox. post datam praesentium per literas vestras patentes auctoritative sigillatas, numerum librorum huiusmodi ad manus vestras obtentu praefatae monitionis delatorum, ac per vos, ut, praemittitur, numeratorum [incineratorum] in se continentes, una cum praesentibus debite certificare non omittatis sub poena contemptus.

Dat. in manerio nostro de Lamethith tertio die mensis Novembris, anno Dom. M. D. xxvi. et nostras transl. xxiii. Wilkins *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, iii. 706. Ed. 1737.

5. Then probably in order of time next came King Henry's *Preface* to his people, about the beginning of 1527; quoted above.

6. There is also a short but singularly important note from Dr. Robert Ridley, chaplain to Tonstall, Bishop of London, to Henry Golde, nephew and chaplain to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, which possibly gives the title of this Quarto New Testament. The date is only 24 February; but we believe from the absence of any mention of the later Protestant literature (Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and the like) and the general tenor of the note, that the year is without any doubt 1527.

Robert Ridley to Henry Golde.

Maister Golde, I hartly commande me vnto you. As concernyng this common and vulgare translation of the new testament in to englyshe, doon by Mr. William Hichyns, otherwais called Mr. W. Tyndale, and frear William Roy, manifeste lutheranes heretikes and apostates, as doth oppynly apier, not only by their daily and continuall company and familiarite with Luther and his disciples, bot mych mor by their commentares and annotations in Mattheum et Marcum in the first print,² also by their peface in the 2d prent,³ and by their introduction in to the epistle of Paule ad Romanos⁴ al to githere most posoned and abhominable hereses that can be thought; he is not filius Ecclesiae Christi that wold receaue a godspell of such damned and preised heretikes, thowh it wer trew, lyk as Paule and our Saviour Crist wold not take the trew testimonial of Evil Spretres that prased Criste trew saying *Quod filius dei erat*,⁵ et quod ipse Paulus *servus esset veri Dei*.⁶ As for errours if ye haue the first prent with annotations in Mattheum et Marcum, and the peface,⁷ al

¹ True readings in the copy in Voysey's Register ii. 51. at Exeter. See Foxe's *Acts*, etc., iv. 764. Ed. by Rev. S. Townsend, M.A., 1846.

John Voysey, alias Harman, was Bishop of Exeter between 31 Aug., 1519, and 14 Aug., 1551.

² Separate publications simultaneously published.

³ The present Quarto.

⁴ An adaptation by Tyndale of Luther's Preface, translated into Latin by Justus Jonas in 1522.

⁵ Mark iii. 11. ⁶ Acts xvi. 17. ⁷ i.e. *The Prologge*.

is mere frenesy, he saith that euangelium nihil est aliud quam dulcis promissio gratiæ;¹ so that by that meanes penitentialium agite, is no part of the euangelion, the pater noster is no part of the godspell, ite maledicti in ignem eternam, no part of the euangelion bot only such *approfinquabit regnum cælorum*,² *inuenietis requiem animabus vestris*.³ Also he writ[eth] in that preface and annotations that there is no difference between virginitate and an hoor of the stewes, if she cum to repentance.⁴ Also that lyk as no man doth evil to the entent that he show[d] be punyshed or hanged therefor, so no man showd do good to haue any rewarde therefor,⁵ contra *ad faciendas iustificationes tuas propter retributionem*,⁶ et ad Hebræos de Mose *aspiciebat enim in remuneratorem alias remunerationem*,⁷ et illud, *facite vobis amicos de mammona, ut cum defeceritis, recipiant eos in æterna tabernacula*.⁸ Also that by good warkes we do no thyng merite,⁹ contra illud, ad Corinthos, *ut referat unusquisque prout gessit sine bonum, sine malum*,¹⁰ et illud genes[eos] ad Abraam, *quod fecisti hanc rem etc.*¹¹ item illud Matthæi, *quod sitivi et dedistis mihi potum &c.*¹² et, *venite benedicti patris mei*.¹³ Also he saith that he that doth any thyng to haue by place in heven, he is Satanice et Luciferine superbus.¹⁴ I haue none of thies bowkes bot only I remembre such thynges I redde in the prefaces and annotations. As for the texte of the godspell first the title is hereticall, saying that it is prent as it was written by the euangelistes;¹⁵ cum neque consentiat cum antiqua translatione neque cum Erasmo; this is the bowk of generacion of iesus the sonne of Abraam and also the sonne of Dauid.¹⁶ Cum in archetypo sit nominatus absolutus, et in illo, *filii Abraam, filii Dauid*,¹⁶ &c. fit sensus, ipse unum solum assert eumque minus germanum; *voluit clam ab ea dvertere*,¹⁷ he wold haue putt hir away; in quo omnes peccaverunt¹⁸ ad Romanos, in so mych that every man hath synned. et homo stultissime, *penitentiam agite*,¹⁹ repent²⁰—By this translation shall we losse al thies cristian wordes, penaunce, charite, confession, grace, prest, chirche, which he alway calleth a congregatio, quasi turcharum et brutorum nulla esset congregatio, nisi velit illorum etiam esse ecclesiam; Idololatria callith he worshipping of images. I wold that ye showd haue seen my lordes bowkes. As for the translation in Franche without any postille it is for certane condemned in Parys decreto publico,²¹ thow it be trewly doon, condemned I say, that it shal not be lawfull to publishe it to every layman—bot by prests *quorum labia custodiunt scientiam*,²² and so it was in the old law and in the tyme of the apostles. Vide Superem de translatione biblie.²³

I certify you if ye look well, ye shal not look iij lynes without fawt in al the bowk, bot I haue not the bowk to marke tham owt, ye showd haue had lasure yourselff to haue doen it, how be it, it becummyth the people of Criste to obey and folow their rewellers which hath geven study and is lerned in such matters as their people shoud heir an l beleve, thai shoud not iudge the doctrine of Paule ne of Paule vicars and successours bot be iudged by their learnyng as long as thai know nothyng contrary Goddes lawes as Saynt Bernard saith most goodly and clerly in libro de dispensatione et præcepto.

Vale in al haist.

Your awne, ROBERT RIDLEY, priest.

Item, illud Pauli, *stultas questiones devota etc.*²⁴—beware of fowlish problems or questiones in the scoles. Hoc procul dubio dictum in odium scolasticæ theologiæ et universitatum. Such a thyng is in the translation, thowh it be not in the same wordes. *Ego et pater unum*²⁵ *sumus*.²⁶ We ar on, quasi diceret, *unus*²⁷ *sumus*, and not on substance or on thyng. Shew ye to the people that if any be of so powde and stuborne stomac that he will beleve there is no fawt ne errour except it be declared to hym that he may se it, lait hym cum hither to my lorde²⁸ which hath profowndly examined al and he shal heir se e errours except that he be blynde and haue no eys.²⁹ 24 Februarii.

Master Gold, I pray you be good to this pore whoman, Gyl Bartes whyff, as yet your tenawt.³⁰

¹ See p. 3 of prologge.

² Matt. iii. 2.

³ Matt. xi. 29.

⁴ See p. 12 of prologge.

⁵ See pp. 13, 14 of prologge.

⁶ Ps. cxix. 112.

⁷ Heb. xi. 26.

⁸ Luke xvi. 9.

⁹ See p. 8 of prologge.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. v. 10.

¹¹ Gen. xxii. 16. ¹² Matt. xxv. 35. ¹³ Matt. xxv. 34.

¹⁴ From the quotation Rom. iii. 23 immediately following, I take this title to be that of the New Testaments, both wanting in the only copies known.

¹⁵ See text at p. 17.

¹⁶ Matt. i. 1.

¹⁷ Matt. i. 19.

¹⁸ Rom. iii. 23.

¹⁹ Matt. iii. 2.

²⁰ i. e. Repent instead of Do penance.

²¹ The arrêt of the Parliament of Paris condemning Le Fevre d'Étaples' translation into French

portions of the Scripture was passed on 28 Aug. 1525. *Lelong. Bibl. Sacra*, i. 335. ²² Mal. ii. 7.

²³ A Carthusian monk, Pierre Sutoris, who was also a Doctor of Theology, wrote *De Tralatione Biblie, et novarum reprobatione interpretationum*. Licensed 5 Dec. 1524. The printing by Jehan Petit finished 28 Feb. 1525. The 22nd and last chapter deals with vernacular translations.

²⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 23. ²⁵ Neuter. ²⁶ John x. 30. ²⁷ Masc.

²⁸ A significant admission of the estimation that Tyndale's Testaments were held in by the people.

²⁹ Tonsill would have tried imprisonment and punishment to improve their eyesight.

³⁰ This line is written in a different hand.

Ye shal not neede to accuse this translation. It is accused and damned by the consent of the prelates and learned men, and commanded to be brynt, both heir and beyonde the see, wher is many hundreth of tham brynt, so that it is to layt now to ask reson why that be condemned, and which be the fawtes and errours.

Luther and his scoole teachith *quod nos non cooperamus cum gratia dei, sed tantum patimur ut saxa et stipites*, bycause of that this texte, *non ego sed gratia dei mecum*,¹ thus is translate, not I bot the grace of God in me. *Quam hoc hæretice, maligne, seditiose et falso translatum sit, qui non perpendit, stupidus est.* My lorde your master hath of thies bowkes geven and sende to hym by my lorde my master.

Shew the people that ye be cum to declare *voto* tham, that certai(n) bowkes be condemned by the counsell and profownde examination of the prelates and fathers of the chircb.

Addressed. To Master Henry Golde, Chaplayne to my lorde of Canterbury, at Knolle.

Cott. MSS., Cleo. E. v. : f. 362. b.

7. Mēanwhile, the Archbishop of Canterbury had been actively but quietly at work, buying up, through his agents abroad, all the English New Testaments he possibly could obtain. This action on the part of Warham but further illustrates the great union and activity of the English Hierarchy in stamping out the condemned translation.

Having completed his purchases, and apparently believing that he had bought up the whole of the *three* Editions by this time in existence, the Archbishop issued, on the 26th May 1527, a circular letter to his suffragan Bishops soliciting contributions towards these expenses. We obtain our knowledge of what he had thus accomplished, from the following reply of Nix, the blind Bishop of Norwich.

In right humble maner I commendeme vnto your goode Lordeshippe doyinge the same t'ndrestande that I lately receyued your Lettres, dated at your Manor of Lambethe the xxvj daie of the monethe of Majj; by the whiche I do perceyue that youre Grace hath lately gotten into your handes all the boks of the Newe Testamente translated into Englessh and pryated beyonde the Sea, aswelle those² with the gloses ioyned vnto theym as th'oder² withoute the gloses, by meanes of exchange by you made therfore, to the somme of lxxvj*li* ix*s* iiiij*d*. [L997.]

Surely, in myn opynion, you have done therin a graciouse and a blessed dede, and God, I doubt not, shall highly rewarde you therfore. And where in your said Letters, ye write that in so moche as this mater and the daunger therof of remedie had not be prouyded shulde not only haue touched you, but all the Bussshops within your Province; and that it is no reason that the holle charge and coste therof shulde reste only in you; but that they and euery of theym for their parte shulde auance and contribute certain sommes of money towarde the same; I for my parte wulbe contented to auance in their behalue, and to make paymeote therof vnto Maister William Potkyn your seruaunte.

Pleaseth it you t'ndrestande that I am right wele contented to yeve and auance in this behalue ten marks [at 13*s*. 4*d*. = £6 13*s*. 4*d*., equal to £100 now], and shal cause the same to be deluyered vnto the said maister Potkyn shortly, the which somme I thinke sufficient for my parte, if euery Busschopp within your said Province make like contribution and auancement after the rate and substance of their benefices. Neuer the lesse if your Grace thinke this somme of ten marks not sufficient for my parte in this mater, your fudre pleasure knowen, I shalbe as gladd to conforme my self ther unto in this or any other mater concernyng the Church, as any your subgiet within your Province. As knowes Almighty God, who

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 10.

² 'Those with the gloses . . . th'oder withoute the gloses' would seem to show that Christopher

Endhoven reprinted the Quarto and not the Octavo. If so, would that afford a presumption that the Quarto was published before the Octavo?

longe preserue you to his most pleasure and your herts desire. At Hoxne in Suff. the xiiij. daie of Junij 1527. Yor humble obediencier and baidman R. NORWICEN.

I wold be as gladd to wayte vpon your Lordshipp and do my duetie vnto you as any man lyviuge, but I thinke I can not so do this somer. I praye God I may have some tyme for to do it.

Sir H. Ellis' *Original Letters*, 3rd Ser. ii. 86-92. Ed. 1846. The Original is *Cott. MSS. Vitell. B. ix.*, fol. 117. orig.

With this letter we must conclude our notice of the events of 1527, the second year of the New Testaments being in this country.

8. It was in 1528 that the persecution first began against the readers of the New Testament. On the 7th March of that year, Tonstall, Bishop of London, licensed Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to have and read Lutheran books, in order that he might confute them; 'For as muche as you, dearly beloued brother, can playe the Demosthenes, both in this our Englyshe tongue and also in the Latin.'¹

More immediately set to work and published, before the end of the year, his *Dyaloge*; which was the first instalment of a long controversy in the course of which he successively attacked Tyndale, Barnes, Frith, and Sir John Some; which controversy lasted up to his imprisonment in 1535, that ended in his ever to be lamented death.

In More's *Dyaloge* we get at the way the English Bishops counted up the three thousand errors in Tyndale's translation. The book is an imaginary Dialogue between himself and the confidential messenger of a friend to whom (cumberously enough) he writes an account of *their* conversation, as if the messenger would not have reported it himself. It is a distortion of the Table Talk which constitutes the framework of *Utopia*, just as the whole of More's well meant efforts in the controversy are a distortion of the natural bent of his genius, leading him to a reckless vituperation of his opponents.

Bot now I pray you let me know your mynde concernyng the burnyng of the newe testament in englysh whiche Tyndall lately translated/ and (as men say) ryght well/ which maketh men moche meruayll of ye burnyng.

¶ It is quod I to me great meruayll/ that any good crysten man hauyng any drop of wyt in his hede/ wold any thyng meruayll or complayne of the burnyng of that booke yf he knowe the matter. Whych who so callyth the newe testament calleth it by a wronge name/ except they wyll call it Tyndals testament or Luthers testament. For so had Tyndall after Luthers counsayle corrupted and changed it from the good and holsom doctryne of Cryste to the deuylysh heresydes of their owne that it was clene a contrary thyng.

¶ That were meruayle quod your frende that it sholde be so clene contrary. For to some that red it it semed very lyke.

¶ It is quod I neuer the lesse contrary/ and yet the more peryllous. For lyke as to a trew syluer grote as false copier grote is neuer the lesse contrary thoughe it be quycke syluered ouer/ but so muche the more false in howe moche it is counterfeted the more lyke to the trouth/ so was the translacyon so moche the

¹ The Bishop's letter is given by Fox in his *Actes, &c.*, pp. 491-2. Ed. 1563.

more contrary in how moche it was craftely deuysed lyke/ and so moche the more peryllous in howe moche it was to folke vnlearned harde to be dyssernyd.

¶ Why quod your frende what faultys were there in it?

¶ To tell you all that quod I/ were in a maner to reherse you all the holt boke/ wherin there were founden and noted wronge or falsly translated aboue a thousande textys by tale.

¶ I wolde quod he fayne here some one.

¶ He that sholde quod I study for that/ sholde study where to fynde water in the see. But I wyll shewe you for ensample two or thre suche as euery one of the thre is more than thryes thre in one.

¶ That were quod he very straunge excepte ye mene more in weyght. For one can be but one in number.

¶ Surely quod I as weyghty be they as any lyghtly can be. But I mene that euery one of them is more than thryes thre in number.

¶ That were quod he some what lyke a rydell.

¶ This rydell quod I wyll some be red. For he hath mysse translated three wordes of grete weyght and euery one of them is as I suppose more than thryse three tymes repeted and reherced in the boke.

¶ Ah that maye well be quod he/ but that was not well done. But I pray you what wordes be they?

¶ The one is quod I this worde prestys. The other the chyrche. The thyrde charyte. For prestys where so euer he speketh of the prestes of Crystes chyrche he neuer calleth them prestes but alway senyours/ the chyrche he calleth alway the congregacyon/ and charyte he calleth alway loue.—
Book III. c. 8. fol. 97. Ed. 1530.

More touched the apple of Tyndale's eye in thus charging his translation with intentional falsification. So the first half of his *Answer* is occupied with giving 'a reason of certayne wordes which Master More rebuketh,' as—

What the church is? Why he vsed this worde *congregation* rather than *church*? Why *elder* and not *prest*? Why *loue* rather then *charyte*? Why *fauoure* and not *grace*? Why *knowledge* and not *confessyon*? *repentance* and not *penance*?

Tyndale herein defended the new ideas which he had associated to the old familiar words.

When therefore in the second part of his *Answer* he comes to the above passage all the reply he vouchsafes to it is this :—

Vnto church/ prest/ charite/ grace/ confession and penance is answered him in the begynnyng of the boke. And when he sayth Tyndale was confederatt with Luther that is not trueth. *Fol. xcij.*

9. In the months of February to June, 1528, Bishop Tonstall, assisted by his Vicar General, Geoffrey Wharton, D.D., made inquisition as regards Bible reading heretics until, as he writes to Wolsey, on the 15 March of that year respecting a suspected Reader, 'I committed hym to the Flete bycause al my presons be ful off other persons out off the fordest parte of my Diocese.' To give an account of all the depositions obtained in this inquisition would be to write the history of the English Reformation of this and some previous years. Somewhat we have gathered already in respect to the Distributors, and our space will only permit us to quote one other account of the early readers of our now familiar Testaments.

10. There is preserved in the first edition of Fox's *Actes, &c.*, an intensely graphic but unfinished memorandum, written from memory in 1562, expressly for the martyrologist, by Anthony Dalaber, an Oxford scholar.

Concerninge the storie of Thomas Garret, and things done in Oxforde, by his time, reported to vs by Antony Dalaber, who was present at the same.



IN the yeare of our Lord God a 1526,¹ or there aboute, maister Ball of Martyn Colledge, and master Cole of Magdalen Colledge beinge proctoures in the moneth of February,¹ [*i.e.* 1528] maister Garret² curate of Hoonye lane in London, came vnto Oxforde, and broughte with him sondrye bokes in Latten treatinge of the Scripture, with the fyrste part of *Vnio dissidentium*, and Tindals fyrste translation of the new Testament in English, the which bookes he solde to diuers scholers in Oxford, whose names for his accomptable memorye belike, he wrote in a small booke of accomptes.

After he had bene there a while, and had dispatched those bookes, newes came from London that he was searched for in all London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to haue bene emprisoned, for sellinge of those heretical bokes (as they termed them) because they spake againste the vsurped autoritye, and mooste filthy doctrine, of that very Antichrist the bishoppe of Rome, and his no lesse fylthy and wicked sinagoge, for it was knowen vnto Cardinall Wolsey, and to the Bishoppe of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that master Garret had a greate number of those heretical bookes, as the worlde then counted them, and that he was gone to Oxforde to make sale of them there to suche as he knew to be louers of the Gospell. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a preuye searche thorowe all Oxforde to take and imprison him if they mighte, and to burne all and euery his foresaide bookes and him to, if they coulde: so burninge whotte was the charitye of those mooste holye fathers.

But yet at that time one of the foresaide proctors, master Cole of Maudelen Colledge, who after was Crosse bearer vnto the Archbishop of Yorke, was well acquainted with master Garret, and therefore he gaue secrete warnynge on the Tuesday before Shrofetuesday [18 Feb.] vnto a frende or two of master Garettes of this preuy search and willed therfore that he shoulde forthwith as secreatlye as he possyble coulde, depart oute of Oxforde, for if he were taken in the same search, no remedye but that he should be forthwith sent vp vnto the Cardinal, and so should be committed vnto the towre. The Christmas before that time [*i.e.* 1527] Antony Dalaber then scholer of Alborne Haull, who hadde bookes of master Garet, hadde bene in his country in Dorsette shire at Stalbridge wher he had a brother person of that Parish, who was verye desirous to haue a Curate oute of Oxforde, and willed me the said Antonye in anye wise to get hym one ther if I could, then this iust occasion offred, it was thoughte good amonge the brethren (for so did we not only call one an other, but were in dede one to the other) that master Garret chaunginge his name shoulde be sente forth wyth my letters into Dorsette shire vnto my brother, to serue him there for a time vntill he mighte secreatly from thence conuaye him self som where ouer the sea. According here vnto I wrote my letters in all hast possible vnto my brother, for maister Garret to be his curate; but not declaringe what he was in deede. For my brother was a mayster of Arte and rancke Papist, and after was the most mortal enemye that euer I hadde for the Gospelles sake.

So the Wensdaye in the morninge before shroftide [19 Feb.] master Garret departed out of Oxford towarde Dorset shire with my letters for hys new seruice, how farre he went, and by what occasion he so some returned I know not, but the friday next [21 Feb.] in the nighte time he came againe vnto Radleis house wher he lay before, and so after midnight in the priuy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors, and on the Saturday [22 Feb.] in the morninge

¹ This date has unfortunately been a fruitful source of error to many writers. The year is 1528, not 1526. The Testaments were hardly arrived in the country in Feb. 1526; but there had been in the two following years sufficient time to form the association, 'the little flock' of the 'brethren' at Oxford referred to in the narrative. Yet is there a certain truth in the statement, for Ball and Cole were the successive senior Proctors; S. Ball of Merton College being so elected on 11 Apr. 1526 and so remaining till 7 May 1527, when he was succeeded by A. Cole of Magdalen College, who held that office until 21 Apr. 1528; and was therefore the senior Proctor at the time of Garret's apprehension in Feb. 1528.

(²) John Cottysford, D.D., of Lincoln Coll., became

commissary [= vice-chancellor] by the designation of the Chancellor Archbp. Warham: and took his oath on 7 Dec. 1527. *Wood, Fasti Oxon. i. 76. Ed. 1815.*

(³) In the first letter of the Garret correspondence occurs 'Thys monday the vigill of seinet Mathias'; which occurred in 1528. The year is also rendered indubitable by other points of internal evidence in the letters connected with Garret's apprehension, in the State Paper office.

² 1517. Tho. Garret or Gerrard, was this year admitted; but the month or day when, appears not, because the register is imperfect; however in the year following he occurs by the title of Batch. of Arts. *Wood, idem. p. 45.*

deliuered vnto one D[octo]r Cotissford, master of Lincoln colledge then beinge commissarye of the vniuersitye, who keppe him as prisoner in his own Chamber. There was great ioye and reioysing, among all the Papistes for his apprehension and especially with D[octo]r. London Warden of the New colledge, and D[octo]r. Higdon deane of Frideswides¹ two Archpapistes. Who immediatly sent their letters in post hast vnto the Lord Cardinal to enforce him of the apprehension of this notable heretike. for the whiche their doinge, they were well assured to haue great thanks.

But of all this sodaine hurly burly, was I vtterly ignoraunt, so that I knew, neither of master Garets so sodaine retourne, neyther that he was so taken. For after I had sent him oute of Oxford with my letters, as before is sayde, the same wecke, having taken a chamber in Gloucester Colledge,² for that purpose to studye the ciuill law, because the scholers in Alborne Hall³ were all arceturs;⁴ I remoued all suche poore stuffe as I had from thence vnto Gloucester colledge, and there was I much busied in setting vp in order of my bed, of my bokes, and of such thinges as I els had, so that I had no leiser to goe forthe any where those two daies, Fridaye and Saturday. And hauing set vp all my thinges handsomely in order the same daye [Sat. 22 Feb.] before none, I determined to spende that whole after none, vntil Euensong time at Frisewide colledge.¹ at my boke in mine owne studye, and so shutte my chamber doore vnto me, and my study dore also, and toke in my hand to read Frances Lambert vpon the gospel of Saint Luke, which booke only I had then within there, all my other bookes wrytten on the scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, Oecolampadius etc. I had yet leste in my chamber at Alborne Hall, where I had made a very secreat place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to haue any such bokes.

And so as I was diligently readinge in the said boke of Lambert vpon Luke, sodenly one knocked at my chamber dore verye hard, which made me astonied, but yet I sate still and would not speak, then he knocked againe more harder, and yet I held my peace, and straighte way he knocked yet againe more fierslye, and then I thought this, peraduenture it is some body that hath nede of me, and therefore I thought me bound to doo, as I would be done vnto and so laying my boke aside, I came to ye dore and opened it. And there was maister Garret as a mased manne, whome I thoughte then to haue bene with my brother, and one with him, assone as I saw him, he saide he was vndone, for he was taken not remembreing that he spake this before the yonge manne. Then I asked him what that yonge man was, he answered that it was one, who broughte him vnto my chamber, then I thanked the yonge man, and bad him farewell, and asked mayster Garret whether the yonge man was his friend or no? and what acquaintance he had with him? He said he knew him not, but he had bene to seke a monke of his acquaintance in that colledge who was not within his chamber, then he besought this his seruauant to bring him vnto my chamber, and so forthe declared howe he was returned and taken that nighte in the preuye searche as ye haue harde, and that now at Euensong time the Commissary and al his companye went to Euensong, and locked hym alone in his chamber, when all were gone, and he hard no bodye stirring in the Colledge, he put backe the barre of the locke with hys fynger, and so came straight vnto Gloucester Colledge to that monke, if he hadde bene wythin, who had also bought bokes of him.

Then said I vnto him. Alas mayster Gare by this your vncircumspecte comming vnto me, and speaking so before this yonge man, ye haue disclosed your selfe and vtterlye vndone me, I asked him whye he went not vnto my brother wyth my letters accordinglye, he saide after he was gone a daies iourney and a halfe, he was so fearefull that his heart would no other but that he muste neades retourne againe vnto Oxforde, and so came againe on Fridaye at nighte, and then was taken as ye hard before. But nowe with deepe sighes and plentye of teares he prayed me to healpe to conuaye hym away, and so he cast of his hode and his gown, wherein he came vnto me, and desired me to geue him a coate wyth sleues if I hadde anye, and tolde me that he woulde goo into Wales, and thence conuey him selfe into Germanye if he mighte, and then I put on him a sleued cote of mine of fine cloth in graine, which my mother hadde geuen me, he woulde haue an other manner of cappe of me, but I hadde none but priest like, such as his owne was. Then knealed we bothe downe together on oure knees, liftinge vp oure heastes and handes to GOD our heauenlye father, desiring him with plentye of teares, so to conducte and prosper hym in his iourney, that he mighte well escape the danger of all his ennemies, to the glorye of his holye name, if his good pleasure and will

¹ Now Christ Church College.

² Previously called St. John Baptist's Hall, afterwards Gloucester College: then Gloucester Hall,

and now Worcester College.

³ *i. e.* St. Alban's Hall.

⁴ *Arctur*, a learner or teacher of art.

so were, and then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the teares so abundantly flowinge out from bothe our eyes, that we all bewette both oure faces, and skarslye for sorrowe coulde we speake one to the other, and so he departed from me, apparelled in my cote, beinge committed vnto the tuition of our almighty and all mercifull father.

When hee was gone downe the staires from my Chamber, I straight waies did shut my chamber dore, and went into my studye shuttinge the doore vnto me, and tooke the newe Testamente of Erasmus translation in my handes, kneled downe on my knees, and with manye a depe sigh and salt tere, I did, with much deliberation read ouer the x. chapter of s. Matthew his Gospell, and when I had so doone, with feruent prayer I did commit vnto God, that our dearye beloved brother Garet, earnestlye beseeching him, in and for Iesus Christes sake, his only begotten sonne our Lord, yat he would vouchsafe, not only safely to conduct and kepe our saide deare brother from the handes of all his enemies, but also that he woulde vouchendew his tender and lately borne litle flocke in Oxford, with heauenlye strength by his holy spirite that they might be well able thereby valeauntly to withstande to his glory all their fierse enemies, and also might quietly to theyr owne saluation with all godlye patience, beare Christes heauy crosse: which I now sawe was presently to be laide on their yong and weake backes, vnable to beare so huge a one, without the great healpe of his holy spirite.

This doon I laid a side my bokes safe, folded vp maister Garrets gowne and hoode, and laid them into my presse among mine apparel, and so hauing put on my short gowne shut vp my study and chamber dores, and went towardes Friswides to speake with that worthy martir of God one master Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what had happened that after noone.

But of purpose I went by S. Mary church to go first vnto Corpus Christi colledge to speke with Dietand Vdall¹ my faithful brethren and felowes in the Lorde there, but by chaunce I met by the waye with a brother of oures, one Master Edon fellowe of Magdalen Colledge, who, assonne as he saw me, came with a pityfull countenance vnto me, sayinge that we were all vndone for maister Garet was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the priuy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I saide it was not so, he saide it was so, I said nay, and he said yee. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone, he answered me and saide, I knowe he was gone with your letters, but he came againe yester euen and was taken in his bed at Radleis this night in the priuy searche, for quod he, I hard our proctor master Cole say and declare the same this day in oure Colledge to diuers of the house. But I told him again that I was wel assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later then either the proctor or commissary did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto hym, how and when he came vnto me, and howe he went his way, willing him to declare the same vnto other our brethren whom he should mete withall, and to geue God hartly thanckes for this his wonderful deliuerance, and to praye him also that he would graunt him safelye to passe awaye from all his enemies. And tolde him that I was goinge vnto master Clarke of Friswides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knew and thought verely that he and diuers others there wer then in great sorrow for this matter, and prayed maister Edon that he would goo home by Alborne Hal to desire my bedfelow sir Fitziamess² (for I lay with him in Alborne hall) to mete me at sir Diets chamber in Corpus Christi Colledge about v. of the clocke after Euensong, and then I went straight to Friswides.

And Euensong was begun, and the Deane, and the other canons were there in their Gray Amices, they were almost at Magnificat before I came thether. I stode at the quier dore and hard master Tauerner play and others of the chappel there sing, with and among whome I my selfe was wont to singe also, but now my singing and musicke was turned into sighing and musing. As I thus and ther stode, in cometh Doctor Cotisford the commissary, as fast as euer he could go bare headed, as pale as ashes, I knew his grefe wel enough, and to the Deane he goeth into the Quier, where he was sitting in his stalle, and talked with him very sorrowfully, what I know not, but wherof I might and did wel and truly gesse, I went aside from the quier dore, to se and heare more, the Commissarye and Deane came oute of the Quire, wonderfullye troubled as it semed, about the middle of the church, met them D[ector]. London, puffing, blustering, and blowinge lyke a hungry and greedy Lion seking his prey. They talked together a while, but the commissarye was much blamed of them for kepinge of hys prisoner so negligently, in so much yat he wepte for sorrowe. And it was knowen abroad, that master Garret had eskaped awaye

¹ N. Udall afterwards the author of *Roister Doister* took his B.A. on 30 May 1524.

² John Fitzjames of Merton College, afterwards

of St. Alban's Hall, took his B.A. 20 Jun^o 1524. He became (Roman Catholic) Archdeacon of Taunton and Prebend of Wells on 22 May 1554

and gone out of the Commissaries chamber at Euensong time, whether no man could tel. These Doctors departed and sent abroad their seruants and spies euery where.

Mayster Clarke about the middle of Complin¹ came forth of the quire, I followed him to his chamber, and when he was put of his Graye Amis and surples, he asked me how I did, and what newes, I answered him not so wel as I would, because the newes were not good, but verye doubtfull and perilous, and so declared what was happed that after none. Of maister Garrets eskape he was glad, for he knew of his foretaking, then he sent for one master Sumner, and master Bets, fellowes and canons there, in the meane whyle he gaue me a very godly exhortation, praying God to geue me, and all the reaste of oure brethren, *prudentiam serpentinam, et simplicitatem columbinam*, for we shoulde haue shortlye muche neade there of, as he verelye thoughte. When master Sumner and master Bets were come vnto him, he caused me to declare againe the whole matter vnto them two wherof they were very gladd, that maister Garret was so deliuered trusting that he shuld escape all his enemies. They wuld haue had me to tary and haue supped ther with them ; but I would not tary, for I sayd I had promised to go vnto Corpus Christi colledge to comfort our other bretherne their, who were no lesse sorowfull then they, and praied them to tel vnto our other bretherne there what was happened : for there wer diuers elsse in that colledge.

When I came to Corpus Christi colledge I founde to gether in Sir Diets chamber, tarienge and lokinge for me Fitziames, Diet, and Vdall, they knew al the matter before by maister Edoe, whome I had sent vnto Fitziames, but yet I declared the matter vnto them againe and so I taried ther and supped with them in that chamber where they had prouided meat and drinke for vs before my comminge, at whiche supper we wer not very mery, consideringe our state and peril at hand. When we had end our supper and committed our whole cause with feruent sighs and hartly prayers vnto God our heuenly father, Fitziames would nedes haue me to lye that night with him in my old lodginge at Alborne Hall, and so did I : But small reste and litle slepe toke we both their that night.

In the sunday [23 Feb.] in the morninge I was vp and readye by fiue of the clocke, and as sone as I could get out at Alborne Haul dore, I went straight towardes Glocester colledge to my chamber, it hadd reyned that morny[n]ge, a good shuere and with mi goinge I had all to be spriakeled my hose and my shoes with the reiny mire. And when I was comsein vnto Glocester colledge, which was about vi. of the clocke, I found the gats fast shut, wherat I did much merueil, for they were wont to be opened daily, long befor that time, then did I walk vp and down by the wall ther, a whole howre before the gates were opened. In the meane while my musinge hed beinge full of forecastinge cares, and my sorowfull hart flowinge with dollefull sighes, I fully determined in my conscience before god, yat, if I shuld chance to be taken and be examined I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceiue was manifestly knowen before.

And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift my selfe and to put on a longer goune, I wente in towardes my chamber, and ascendinge vp the steyers, would haue opened my dore, but I could not in a longe season do it, wherby I perceyued yat my lock had bin medled with all and therwith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much a do I opened the locke and went in, when I came in, I did see my bedde al to tosied and tumbled, my clothes in my presse thrown down and my study dore open wherof I was much amased and thought verelye there was made their some serch that night for maister Garret, and that it was knowen of hys beinge wythe me, by the monkes man that brought him to my chamber.

Nowe was ther lieng in the next chamber vnto me, a yonge priest monk of shirborne abbey in the county of Dorset come thether to be student, where I was brought vppe from my chilhode : for whose sake partly I came in dede vnto that Colledge, to enstructe him in the Laten tongue, and in other things wherin I had better knowledge then he. Thys monke assone as he harde me in the chamber, called vnto me, and asked me where I lay that night. I told him that I lay with my olde bed fellow Fitziames at Alborn hall, he came to me straight way, and told how our master Garret was sought in my chamber, and asked me whether he was with me yesterday at after noone or no, and I told him yea. And finally he tolde me that he was commaunded to bring me assone as I came in vnto the prior of students named Antony Dunston a monke of Westminster, who nowe is bishop of Landafe. And so while he made him ready by me, he tolde me what a doo. there was made by the commissarie and the two proctors in my chamber that night, with billes and swords thrustud throw my bedstraw, and how euery corner of

¹ *i. e.* the last or evening prayer.

my chamber was searched for master Garret, and albeit his gown and hoode lying in my presse was by them all to tossed and tumbled wyth my clothes, yet did they not perceiue them there, for by like they toke it to haue bene mine own clothes.

This so troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hose and shoes, and to shyfte me nto an other gowne : And therefore assone as he was readye, so all to be dirted as I was with the rainy weather, and in my short gown, I went with him to the saide Priors chamber, where I founde the said prior standing and loking for my comminge. He asked me where I had bene that nighte, I tolde him I laye at Alborn hal with my old bedfellow Fitzjames, but he would not beleue me, he asked me if master Garet were with me yesterday? I tolde hym yea : then he would knowe where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me. I tolde him I knew not where he was excepte he were at Woodstocke. For so (said I) he had shewed me that he woulde goo thether, because one of the keepers there his frend, hadde promised him a piece of venison to make mearye wyth all that Shrofe tide, and that he woulde haue borrowed a hatte and a paire of high shoes of me, but I had none in dede to lend him. This tale I thought metest though it were nothing so. Then hadde he spied on my fore finger a bigge riage of siluer verye well double gilted with two letters *A. D.* ingraued in it for my name, I suse he thought it to be gold, he required to see it, I toke it vnto him, when he had it in his haad, he sayde it was his ring, for therin was his name, an *A.* for Antoyne, and a *D.* for Dunston. When I harde him so say, I wished in my hart to be as well deliuered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be deliuered from my ring for euer.¹ Then he called for pen, inke, and paper and commaunded me to write when and how Garet came vnto me, and where he was become.

I had not written scarcely three wordes, but the chiefe bedell with two or three of the commissaries men, were come vnto master prior, requiringe him straightwaies to briage vs awaye vnto Lincolne coledge to the commissary and to *D[ector]*. London. Whether when I was brought in to the chapel : there, I founde maister *D[ector]*. Cottisforde commissary, maister *D[ector]*. Higdon then Deane of the Cardenalls colledge, and *D[ector]*. London Warden of ye newe Colledge standinge together at the altar in the chappell, when they sawe me brought vnto them, after salutations geuen and taken betwen them, they called for chaires and satte downe and called for me to come to them, and first they asked what my name was, I tolde them that my name was Anthonye Dalaber, then they also asked me how longe I had ben student in the vniuersity, and I told them almoste three yeares, and they asked me what I studied. I told them that I had red sophestry and logike in Alborne Hal and now was remoued vnto Gloucester coledg to study the ciuill lawe, the whiche, the fursaide prior of studentes affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew master Garret and how longe I had knowen him I told them I knew him well, and had knowen him almoste a twelue moaethes, they asked me when he was with me I tolde them yester day at after aone, and now by this time whiles they hadde me in this talke, one came in vnto them which was sent for, with pen, inke, and paper, I trowe it was the clarke of the vniuersity. As sone as he was come, there was a bourd and trestelles with a forme for him to sit on, set betwene the doctores and me, and a greate masse booke laid before me and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it and to swere that I shoulde truly auanswer vnto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined vpon. I made daunger of it a while at the first, but afterwarde being perswaded by them partly by fayre words and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they wulde haue me, but in my hart nothyng so ment to do. So I laide my hand on the hooke, and one of them gaue me my oth, and that donne commaunded me to kis the booke. Then made they great curtesye betwene them who should examine, and minister interrogatories vnto me, at the last the rankest papistical pharesy of them al *D[ector]*. London² toke vpon him to do it.

Then he asked me agayne, by my oth where Maister Garret was and whether I had coueighed him, I tolde hym I hadde not coueied hym, nor yet wiste not where hee was, nor whether he was gon, except he were gonne to woodstocke, as I had before saide, yat he shewed me he would.

Then he asked me again when he came to me, and howe he came to me and what and howe longe he talked with me, I tolde him he came to me aboute euensong time and that one brought him vnto my chamber dore, whom I know not and that he tolde me he woulde go to wodstocke for some venison, to make mery with all this shroftide, and that he wolde haue borrowed a hat, and a paire of high shoes, of me but I had none such to lend him, and then he straight went his way from me but whether I know nat.

¹ It must have been pleasant to Anthony Kitchin or Dunston, who became Ep. of Llandaff on 26 Mar. 1545 [*d.* 31 Oct. 1565] to have thus read him-

self in Fox's book, a thief of old standing.

² Dr. London *d.* 1543 in the Fleet; having been committed to that place for perjury.

All these my sayenges the scribe wrote in a paper boke. Then they earnestly required me to tell them whether I had conueyed him, for surely they said I brought him going some whether this moraynge, for that they might well perceiue by my foule shoes and dirty hosen that I had trauailed with him the most part of this night, I answered plainly that I laye at Alborne Haul with sir Fitziames, and that I had good witnes therof there. They asked me where I was at euensonge I told them at Friswides, and that I saw first maister commissary, and then maister D[octo]r]. London come thether at that time vnto maister Deane of Frisewides and that I saw them talking to gether in the church. There D[octo]r]. London and the deane thretned me that if I would not tell the truth where I had don him, or whether he was gonne, I should surely be sente vnto the tower of London and there be racked, and put into litle ease.¹ But maister commissary prayd me with gentle words to tell him where he was that he might haue him againe and he woulde be my very greate frend and deliuer me out of trouble straighte waye, I tolde him I coulde not tell where hee was nor whether he was be come. Thus did they occupy and tosse me almost two hours in the chappell sometimes with thretninges and foulewordes and then with faire wordes and faire promises flattering me. Then was hee that brought maister Garet vnto my chamber brought before me and caused to declar what maister Garet saide vnto me at his comminge to my chamber but I saide plainly I harde him say no such thinge for I thought my naye to be as good as his yea, seing it was to ridd and deliuer my godly brother out of trouble and pearill of his life. At the laste when they could get nothing of me wherby to hurt or accuse anye man or to know any thinge of that which they sought they al 3. together brought me vp a longe staires into a great chamber ouer M[aster]. Commissarys D[octo]r]. Cot[tiss]ford's chamber wherin stood and were a greate payer of very highe stockes, then Maister commissary asked me for my purse and girdel toke away my mony and my knife, and then they put both my legges into them and so locked me fast in those stockes, in which I satte my feete beinge almost as high as my hed, and so departed they: locking fast the chamber dore I thinke vnto their abominable mas, leuing me alone.

When al they were gone then cam vnto my good remembrance the worthe sore warning and godly declaration of that moste constant martir of god, Maister Iohn clarke, my father in Christ, who wel nie two yeres before yat, when I did earnestly desire him to graunt me to be his scoler, and that I might goo with hym continually when and where soeuer hee should teach or preach (the which he did daily) who (I say) said vnto me much after this sort. Dalaber ye desire ye wot not what, and that ye are I feare me, vnable to take vpon you, for though nowe my preachinge be swete and pleasurable vnto you, because there is yet no persecution layed on you for it, but the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continew to liue godly therein that god will laye on you the crosse of persecution to try you with all whether you canne as pure and purified gold abide the fire, or as stoble and drosse be consumed therwith. For the holy ghost plainly affirmeth by sainte paul, *quod omnes qui pie volunt viuere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patientur*. Yea ye shal be called and iudged an heretike, ye shal be abhorred of the world, your owne friendes and kinnesfolke will foresake you and also hate you, and shalbe cast into prison and no man shall dare to helpe or comfort you, ye shalbe accused and brought before the bishoppes to your reproche and shame, to the greate sorow of all your faithfull friendes and kinsfolke. Then wil ye wishe ye hadde neuer known this doctrine. Then wil ye curse Clark and wish that ye hadd neuer known him, because he hath brought you to al these troubles. Therefore rather then ye shoulde do this, leue of from medlinge of this doctrine, and desire not to bee and continewe in my company. At which wordes I was so greued that I fell downe on my knees at his feete, and with abundance of teares and sighes euen from the botome of my harte, I earnestly besought him, that, for the tender mercy of god shewed vnto vs in our Lord Iesu Christ, he would not refuse me, but receiue me into his company as I had desired, saeing that I trusted verely, that he which had begonne this in me would not forsake me but giue me grace to continue therein vnto the end. When he harde me say so, he came to me and toke me vp in his arms, kissed me, the teres tricklinge downe from his eyes and sayde vnto me: The Lorde almighty graunt you so doo, and from hensforthe for euer take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.

Now wer there at that time in oxford diuerse graduates and scholers of sundry Colledges and haules, whom god had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted vnto maister Clarkes disputations and lectures in diuinity, at all times as they mought: And when they mighte not come conueniently, I was by maister clark apointed to resorte vnto euery of them wekely, and to know what doubts they had

¹ A torture den in the Tower.

in any place of the scriptures, that by me from him they mighte haue the true vnderstanding of ye same which exercise did me most good and profit to the vnderstanding of the holy scriptures which I most desired.

This forsaide forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martir of god maister clark, coming then to my remembrance caused me with deepe sighes to crye vnto god from my hart to assist me with his holy spirite that I mought be able patiently and quietly to bere and suffer whatsoever it shoulde please him of his fatherly loue to laye on me to his glory and the comforte of my dearly beloued brothera, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, least I would be an accuser of them all. For vnto me they all were well knowen, and all there doinges in that matter. But god be blessed I was full bent neuer to accuse any of them, what soeuer shoulde happen of me.

Before dinner maister Cotisforde came vp to me and requested me earnestlye to tell him where maister Garret was, and if I woulde so do he promised me straightwayes to deliuer me out of prison. But I tolde him I could not tel where he was nor more in dede I could not. Then hee departed to dinner askinge me if I woulde eate any meate, and I told him yea right gladly, he saide he would send me some. When he was gone his seruauentes asked me diuerse questions which I doo not now remember, and some of them spake me faire and some thretned me calling me heretik and so departed lockinge the dore fast vpon me.

FOX THEN ADDS: Thus far Antony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who before the finishinge departed this yere Anno. 1562, in the dioces of Salisbury the residue thereof as we could gather it of ancient and credible persons, so haue we added here vnto the same.

After this, Garret beinge apprehended or taken, by mayster Cole ye proctor or his men, going westwarde at a place called Hinksey a litle beyonde Oxforde,¹ and so beinge broughte backe againe, was committed to warde, that done, he was conuenced before the commissary, Doctor London and Doctor ligdon deane of Friswides (now called Christs colledge) into S. Maries church where they siting in iudgement, conuicted him accordinge to their law as an heretike (as they said) and afterward compelled him to cary a faggot in open procession from Sainte Maries church to Friswides, and Dalaber likewise with him. Garret hauinge his redde hode on his shulders like a maister of art, after that, they were sent to Osney, ther to be kept in prison till farther order was taken.

There were suspected beside, a great number to be infected with heresy as they called it, for hauinge such bookes of Godes truth as garret sold vnto them. As maister Clarke which died in his chamber and could not be suffered to receive the Communion, beinge in prysonne and saenge these words: *Crede et manducasti*. Maister Sommer, Maister Bettes, Tauerner, Radley, with other of Friswides colledge, of Corpus Christi colledge and Vdal and Dier with other of Maulden colledge, one Edeu [*The 1570 edition of Fox reads Master Sonner, Maister Bettes, Tauerner the Musicion, Rodley, with other of Friswides colledge, of Corpus Christi Colledge, as Vdal and Diet with other, of Magdalen Colledge one Eeden, p. 1369*] wyth other of Glocester colledge, and two blacke monkes one of S. Austines of Canterbury named Langporte, ye other of Saint Edmondsbury monk, now yet liuing and dean of Norwich named Iohn Salesbury, two whit[e] monks of Barnard colledge, two chaons of Saint Maries colledge, one of them named Robert Ferrar afterwarde Bishop of Saint daues [David's] and burned in Quene Maries time. These ii. cannones because they had no place in the vnyuersitye with the other; they went on the contrarye side of the procession bare headed and a bedell before them to be knowen from the other. Diuers other there were whose names I cannot remember which were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges and sought their frendes. Against the procession time ther was a grate fier made vpon the toppe of Carfaxe where into all such as were in the saide procession eyther conuict or suspected of heresy were commaunded in token of repentance and reuinciation of their errores, euery man to cast a boke into the fier as they passed by. *ff. 604-610.*

¹ This is quite incorrect. Garret got as far as Bedminster, a mile beyond Bristol, where he was arrested on 29 Feb. 1528. The papers relative to him, including his recantation, now in the State Paper Office, are printed in Townsend's Edition of

Fox's *Actes*, Vol. V. *App. Ed.* 1846. Thomas Garret, with Doctor Robert Barnes and William Hierome the Vicar of Stepney, were together martyred by fire at Smithfield on 30 July, 1540.

The unexpected length to which this Preface has already extended forbids a further pursuit of this part of the subject. The Advent of the first printed Testaments in England constitutes an important chapter in the Story of our Reformation, and one that has hardly as yet received adequate attention. The fashioning anew of a people, as it is a universal and a gigantic, so must it be a gradual Change, prepared and brought about by many causes and instrumentalities. Of these none has been so powerful for good as an unfettered appeal to Scripture; and it was a most merciful arrangement of Divine Providence that when there was a people ready to receive it, Tyndale was raised up to supply the printed Word. In so doing, he sought to transfer the ultimate standard of appeal in faith and morals from the vacillation and contradictions of human belief and opinion known as 'The Church' to the Revelation of the Mind and Will of the Trinity, so far as that could be ascertained by means of manuscripts written by inspired men of old, and transmitted from age to age down to his own time. Until the peasant could possess and understand; until he could confidently appeal to an authority in faith and morals which the greatest scholar could not disavow, he was liable to be beguiled by self interested jugglery and sophistry of those who pretended 'to keep the lips of knowledge.' Nothing is more painful, nothing so unlike God who said 'Let there be light,' than the combination of the priestly learning of that time to keep the people in gross ignorance, merely for the sake of plunder they obtained through them, and the power that through that ignorance they were enabled to exercise over them. What a Struggle for Light it was, we have already seen: and in that fight, many in the front rank on each side suffered most unjust death for their opinion and belief; so it was left to the few Protestant survivors and to the second race of Reformers to carry on and complete the work.

In such troublous times as these, with the magnificent self devotion that we have seen, despite every obstacle, and through constant peril, was the modern English Testament translated, first printed, and circulated. Now whoso will, may study it without any let or hindrance. May all who scan this Fragment have the same absorbing interest and delight in our modern version as Tyndale had, when, exiled in a foreign city, under a sense of the most weighty responsibility both to God and man, he secretly corrected the pages of which we now present the Sun-Portraits.

VII. *Typographical and Literary Evidence.*

The foregoing Story is quite irrespective of the claims of the Text here photo-lithographed to be a part of the Quarto. Before considering this, we may give the account of its late discovery, in 1836.

Mr. Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street, a respectable bookseller in London, having exchanged with a friend, who did not recollect how he came by it, a quarto tract by Ecolampadius, without any covering, there was attached to it by binding a portion in the English language, black letter; and though it was evidently the gospel of Matthew, with the *prologue* of fourteen pages preceding, neither Mr. Rodd nor his friend understood, at the time, what it actually was. By degrees, however, this was at last fully ascertained. 'The accidental discovery,' says Mr. R., 'of the remarkable initial Y, with which the first page of the prologue is decorated, in another book, printed at Cologne in 1534,¹ first led me to search other books printed at the same place, and I succeeded in finding every cut and letter, with the exception of one, in other books from the *same* printing office, that of Peter Quentel.' Again: 'I have found the type in which this portion is printed, and the cuts with which it is decorated, used in other books printed at Cologne from the year 1521 to 1540.'²—C. ANDERSON: '*Annals of the English Bible*,' i. 62-3; *Ed.* 1845.

The Typographical proof may be conveniently expressed in three propositions.

1. This Fragment, whatever it may be, was printed by Peter Quentel at Cologne before 1526.

This is demonstrated by

1. THE WOODCUT at *p.* 16 of the present lithographed text.

i. This is the work of ANTON VON WORMS (Anthony of Worms), an excellent engraver in wood, who came to Cologne in or before 1525, (as appears by the date of one of his woodcuts printed there, being inscribed with that year,) and who appears to have lived in that city until his death, about 1538. Some of his works are regular engravings (in particular a large view of the city of Cologne); others are title pages, and others woodcuts. Of these Adam Bartsch in *Le Peintre Graveur*, vii. 488, *Ed.* Vienne, 1808, quotes 11; but John Jacob Merlo, in *Kunst und Künstler in Köln*, quotes 64; of which 40 of the best are enumerated in G. K. Nagler's *Künstler-Lexicon*, xxii. 91-96, *Ed.* Munich, 1852.

The woodcut is one of four representing the four evangelists, (three of them with their apocalyptic figures, viz.: Mark with a lion, Luke with a bull, John with an eagle,) sitting and writing, which four occur in two large works which Peter Quentel was finishing about the same time, viz.:

(a) A German Testament (Emser's revision of Luther's version, with a commentary), which is dated 23 August 1529.

(b) A Latin Bible, *Biblia integra*, etc. *Ed.* by Peter Ubelius, dated September 1529.

They are also said to occur in an earlier edition of Ubelius' Latin Bible, printed by Quentel in 1527; but I have been unable to meet with a copy of this impression.

2. Anterior to these three editions, the woodcut of Matthew alone appears on the title page, and also at *fol.* 2 of Rupertus' *In Mattheum*, etc., printed by Quentel in 1526, already referred to at *p.* 22. On account of its immense importance in establishing the date and the printer of this Fragment, we have added on the blank page at the end of this edition a facsimile of the lower part, including the woodcut, of this title page of the Commentaries of Rupertus *In Mattheum*, etc., and *De Glorificatione Trinitatis*, etc.; which, as Cochläus tells us, was printed by Quentel for Byreckman.

Therefore the woodcut belonged to and was used in 1526 by Quentel.

3. Of the next point we are able to supply ocular demonstration. The woodcut as photo-lithographed on

¹ See next page.

² It is to be regretted that Mr. Anderson did not

obtain from Mr. Rodd all his references.

the last page of this volume, used by Quentel in Rupertus' *In Matthæum, etc.*, is cut down on the outer side and at the bottom; so that at the side the pillar and a part of the angel's wings are cut off; and at the bottom the feet of the two pillars and a part of the foreground are cut away. Compare it with the previous one.

Therefore the woodcut at *p.* 16 is anterior to that at the end of the book. Therefore the Fragment was printed before the title page of *In Matthæum, etc.*, i.e. before 1526.

4. The motive for cutting down the woodcut appears to have been to allow a sufficient amount of type between it and the inner margin of *fol.* 2 of *In Matthæum, etc.*, where the reduced cut is used as an initial letter. Whether this be so or not, it is clear that woodcuts of the other three evangelists had not yet (*i.e.* earlier than 1526) been designed. For they are the same width across as the reduced cut of Matthew; and have the apocalyptic figures, which Matthew has not. It seems therefore highly probable that Anthon von Worms designed this woodcut expressly for Tyndale's Testament; and that that work being suddenly stopped, Quentel made the best use of the block he could, reducing its size as convenient; and that after a time having occasion for them in other works he got Anthon to complete the series of four to the size thus reduced.

2. THE INITIAL at *p.* 1.

1. There were printed by various printers at Cologne, between 1534-40, and under the editorship of A. le Loer, twenty folio volumes, mostly unconnected, of what was intended as a collected edition of the Works of the Carthusian Dionysius de Leuwe de Ryckel known as the 'Ecstatic Doctor.' One of these volumes containing Commentaries on *All the Canonical Epistles, the Acts, and the Apocalypse* (British Museum Pressmark 1008 e. 8) was printed by Quentel, and is dated September 1533.

On the reverse of *fol.* 72, at the beginning of the Second Epistle of John, is found the initial letter which appears on *p.* 1 of this Fragment. That initial therefore belonged to and was used by Quentel.

3. Here, for want of time, I must refer to Mr. Rodd's statement as regards the other initials, observing that I have met with the two—W as on *p.* 19, etc., and A as on *p.* 32 of the Text, etc.—in Emsler's German Testament, above referred to. A further search would no doubt identify them all.

4. A similarity in the style of setting up the type has already been noticed at *p.* 22.

Indubitably therefore Quentel printed this Fragment before 1526; and from its contents, we know that he must have printed it for Tyndale.

2. Though—judging from what we here possess, *viz.* sigs. A to H—the portion A to K printed by Quentel at Cologne would hardly have finished the Gospel of Matthew: yet this fragment is NOT a portion of the Gospel of Matthew printed somewhere abroad for Tyndale in 1524 or 1525.

1. The first words of *The prologge* contradict such an assumption. 'I HAUE HERE translated . . . the newe Testamente.'

Again on *p.* 2. 'After hit had pleasyd God to put in my mynde | and also to geue me grace to translate this forhheard newe testament into our englysshe tonge | howesoever we have done it.' From this it is clear that the translation of the entire New Testament had been finished before the beginning of *The prologge* was written.

2. The list of the Books of the New Testament would have been purposeless, had only the gospel of Matthew been intended to follow it.

3. The passage referred to by Roy at (see *p.* 32) *p.* 12 of Text proves *The prologge* to have belonged to the New Testament.

4. In like manner the passages alluded to by Ridley (see *p.* 53) at *pp.* 10, 12, and 14 confirm the same.

3. This Fragment being printed by Quentel before 1526, and not being a part of the Gospel of Matthew printed earlier than that year, must be a portion of the Quarto with glosses referred to by Cochlæus.

This has already been proved. We may however notice that *The prologge*, never reprinted by Tyndale, forms the substance of *The Pathway to Scripture*, included among Tyndale's Workes, 1573, by John Fox.

IS THE QUARTO A TRANSLATION OF LUTHER'S EARLIER VERSION?

An important question yet remains. Is this a translation from the original Greek, or from the German of Luther? All translators of the Scriptures have availed themselves of existing versions in other languages, as helps. In this way we think Tyndale used Luther's version; but we must remit this subtle question for resolution to abler hands. Certainly Tyndale was competent to translate it from the Greek, as his translation of Isocrates' Oration proves, and as the title pages of his subsequent editions of the New Testament claimed for him. He was evidently familiar with Latin. He probably had mastered German by the time he came to Cologne; and without doubt studied Hebrew at Worms and Marburg before 1530, when he published the English Pentateuch. Busche's talk is probably but an exaggeration of Tyndale's linguistic attainments. Evidently therefore he was capable of an independent translation. His frequent reference to 'the tonge' can only be to Greek, and he says, 'Consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet.' see *p.* 25.

Whatever may be the case as to the Translation, we can judge of the extent to which Tyndale incorporated the writings of Luther in *The prologge*, the marginal references, and the glosses. J. Baynes, Esq., of the British Museum, has kindly compared the two versions with the following results.

1. Luther prefixed to his translation (*1st Ed.* Sept. : *2nd Ed.* Dec. 1522) a short *Vorrhede* or Preface from which Tyndale took nearly five paragraphs—beginning from *das alle testament ist eyn buch| darynnen Gottis gesetz*, etc. down to . . . *mehr sterben*—being more than half the *Vorrhede*; and has introduced it into the *prologge* beginning on *p.* 3 with *The olde testament is a boke | etc.* down to *shall never more dye*, at the top of *p.* 4. With this exception, the *prologge* seems to have been entirely written by Tyndale, who also furnished the four glosses found attached to his quotation from Luther.

2. The inner MARGINAL REFERENCES are selected, with a few additions, from Luther's version.

3. Some of the GLOSSES are entirely Luther's, some (and these chiefly explanations of words) wholly Tyndale's, and some are identical in meaning but differently expressed from Luther's, as if each were a distinct translation of some earlier original. Of the 92 glosses in the Fragment, the following 41 appear to have been ENTIRELY supplied by Tyndale.

p. 18. That ys to saye by the
Iesus is asmoche to saye
Christe bryngeth god. where
p. 19. Iury is the londe
p. 20. Rachell was buried not ferre
p. 21. Put youre truste in goddes
p. 23. All these dedes here rehearsed
p. 24. Iott. Is as moche too saie
Breaketh This do they which

p. 26. Rewarde. | Ye shall not
p. 27. Syngle. The eye is single
p. 28. Fornace. Men heete there
p. 30. Wilt. Faithe knoweth not
p. 31. Centurion. Is a captayne
p. 34. The heruest are the people
p. 35. Beyonde the see comenly
Fynsshe That ys| ye shall nott.
That is to sey openly

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>ƒ. 37. In the name of a prophet
water. Compare dede too dede</p> <p>ƒ. 38. Lesse. That is Christe
Violence when the consciences
To vpbrayde is to cast</p> <p>ƒ. 40. Desolate, That ys wasted</p> <p>ƒ. 41. A viper ys after the
Here may ye se</p> <p>ƒ. 42. He that hath. where</p> <p>ƒ. 43. The seed ys sowed
Tares and cockle are</p> <p>ƒ. 47. Profytt. Mark the leuen</p> <p>ƒ. 48. Tradicions of men must fayle</p> | <p>ƒ. 50. Peter in the greke
[This long note is an expansion of a short one by
Luther.]</p> <p>ƒ. 51. Iit sounedeth yn greke
Dedes. For the dedes</p> <p>ƒ. 52. Stronge feyth requyret</p> <p>ƒ. 54. Here all bynde and loose</p> <p>ƒ. 57. Seven a clocke with vs</p> <p>ƒ. 58. By this similitude may ye</p> <p>ƒ. 59. Redeme / is to deliver
Sonne of david. As many</p> <p>ƒ. 61. Ihon taught the very waye</p> |
|--|---|

The remaining glosses are either literal or paraphrastic translations of Luther, or of some earlier original. If then the Quarto were annotated in this manner, about one half of the glosses were contributed by Tyndale. Thus far at least there is nothing to detract from the genuineness of his work, as a whole.

Any one who will compare our Authorized Version with this first attempt, cannot fail to be surprised to find what a large proportion of this Text has survived intact the ceaseless tests of innumerable translators; which is another corroboration that Tyndale both went direct to the Greek and that he did his work excellently.

We must now draw to a close. What was intended as a short Preface has become a small Book: and yet the subject is hardly more than begun. Every point upon which we have touched is capable of a more exact definition, a more ample illustration. It is indeed wonderful that we know so much as we do, considering the circumstances; but it is certain that there is much more that by a patient search may be recovered. We have endeavoured here to adduce nothing for which there is not adequate, and, as far as possible, contemporary authority, and we leave off the inquiry feeling that we have only just commenced it. Yet enough has been adduced to show what a great Story surrounds the first beginnings of our printed Testament. Will some one become the Historian of the English Bible? Wherever he may lead us in that history we shall find that the Introducers of the Bible into our nation, as well as the ceaseless Correctors of it since, have for the most part been interpenetrated with an unflinching love of Truth and Holiness.

Hitherto that History has suffered much at the hands of its Narrators. Fox's Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia is very scanty in its information respecting the early English Reformation down to 1530. The first Edition of the *Actes, &c.*, 1563, contains some valuable original Memoranda, etc., contributed to it by Eye-Witnesses: but in the second and later editions Fox, writing impersonally and violently, deprived all these contributions

of much of their freshness, beauty and graphic portraiture ; and therefore of their power to reproduce to us the life and action of those times. He is therefore to be read with great caution.

Of later writers, Mr. Anderson, who commenced in his *Annals* our popular literature on this subject, is often as faulty as Fox. Indeed there has been an unfortunate fatality among some of these later writers. Lewis voted Cochleæus' statement—which is a cardinal point in the History—to be entirely a fabrication ; and Anderson errs as often as he is right. One excuse for this is the difficulty of the search. The priestly hunt after the Testaments to which we have referred was altogether unnoticed in the general movement of the time. *The* question of the day was the King's Divorce : and the fate of the captured Testament readers, secretly tried, though openly punished, did not—in that age of violent deaths— attract universal attention. So the full history of that of which we have here given a sketch is to be found in the Bishops' Registers and other such reconдите sources.

Of the fruits of the English Scriptures who may sufficiently speak? One great tangible result has been the ennobling and perpetual elevating of the English character. Had the bishops stamped out the Bible, England would have been as Italy and Spain were, and much of the world's history would have been differently written. Hence the story of the English Bible is for ever interwoven with the history of England and of the United States. The free Word of God has brought to us freedom of mind, of soul, and of estate ; and we in this, as in so many other things, now inherit, without even a passing thought, principles and privileges which our forefathers oftentimes purchased with their lives. May we in like manner be found faithful to all that is true and right in our day and generation, and hand down intact to our children the munificent gifts which we have received, for nothing, from our ancestors.

What shall we say of the illustrious Translator? Strange alchemy! by transmuting the thought of one language into the expression of another to free a people from ignorance, priestcraft, mental and spiritual serfdom. Yet by the grace of God so it was. Tyndale saw his life's work accomplished. Ere he was taken away, the English ploughboy came to know the Scriptures. He was preeminently a large minded and lofty spirited man. He had great mental capacity, but a greater moral purpose. Ceaselessly for twelve years, at the least, he laboured at his great work ; yet, so to speak, in secret : which is one reason for his not having been adequately appreciated by posterity. For example, he was a far greater man every way than Latimer,

Thomas Cromwell, or even More, though not possessing so bright a wit as he had : yet perhaps he has not been so much honoured as they. Another reason of this is, that in translations the less of the translator the better ; so that he was lost in his works, his controversial writings being quite byplay to his effort in translating. Yet even in controversy he wrote with remarkable strength and clearness. All his work was done in exile ; Henry's agents met him as it were by stealth, and tried to cajole him to come into England. The bishops—like Giant Pope, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*—bit their nails because they could not get hold of him. So at length he was, by the treachery of that arch-Judas Philips, betrayed ; and then, after twelve months of imprisonment at Vilvorde, his last prayer, previous to strangulation, was 'Lord ! Open the King of England's eyes.'

Much more will some day be known of him. Among the archives of Belgium may yet be found the papers seized in his house at Antwerp by the Emperor's Attorney when he was captured. Among the records of the German Diet may yet be obtained the Emperor's decree ordering his execution. And among some English dust covered collection may still be found such of his manuscripts as passing into the hands of his Timothy—John Rogers—came over into England. Enough is already ascertained to stimulate in us an unceasing search for every trace of him and an increasing study of his works ; and what we already know of his nature and character, of his work and purpose, fully justifies our for ever revering him as the great Apostle of our early Reformation.

A word or two as to the present lithographed Text.

In the original, as might naturally be anticipated, some of the lines and letters are faded and broken. With the view of facilitating their perusal, all these rotten letters have been made perfect, and the Text printed black and sharp. After which the Fragment was again read with the original, so as to ensure absolute accuracy.

It may help those unfamiliar with black letter to state that a dash over a letter indicates that *m* or *n* are to be added : as *tēpte* means *tempte*, *wēt went*. Also that the flourish at the end of some words is the plural *es*, as *whaalles* (whales), *spirites* (spirits), etc.

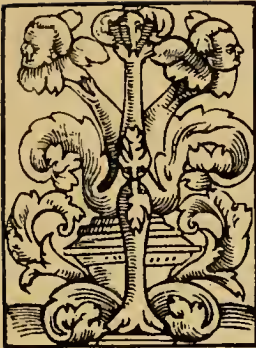
There are numerous misprints in the text, characteristic of the great difficulties under which it was produced, being secretly composed by the Cologne compositors under great and constant fear of detection.

FINIS CORONAT OPUS.

LAUS DEO.

[THE TITLE PAGE IS WANTING IN THE GRENVILLE COPY.]

The prologge.



W^have here translated

(biethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloved in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyng / consolacion / and solas:

Exhortynge instantly and besechynge those that are better sene in the tonge then y / and that have hyer gyst of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture / and meanyng of the spryite / then y / to consydre and pondre my labour / and that with the spryite

of metenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attained the very sence of the tonge / or meanyng of the scripture / or have not given the right englysshe worde / that they put to there handys to amende it / remembryng that so is there duetic to doo. For we have not receyved the gyst of god for oure selues only / or for to hyde them: but for to bestowe them vnto the honouringe of god and christ / and edyfyng of the congregacion / which is the body of christ.

The causes that moved me to translate / y thought better that other shulde ymagin / then that y shulde rehearce them. Moreover y supposed yt superfluous / for who ys so blynde to are why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in dercknes / where they cannot but stomble / and where to stomble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion / other so despyghtfull that he wolde envye eny man (y speake nott his brother) so necessary a thynge / or so bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cause of yuel / and dercknes to procede oute of lyght / and that lyinge shulde be grounded in trought and verytic / and nott rather clene contrary / that lyght destroyeth dercknes / and veritic reprooveth all manner lyinge.

¶ ¶

The

¶ After hit had pleased god to put in my mynde / and also to geue me grace to translate this forehearde newe testament into oure englyssh tongue / how esoeuer we haue done it. I suppose yt very necessary to put you in remembraunce of certayne poynts / which are: that ye well vnderstonde what these wordes meane. ¶ The olde testament. ¶ The newe testamēt. ¶ The lawe ¶ The gospell. ¶ Moses. ¶ Christ. ¶ Nature. ¶ Grace. ¶ Worshinge and beleuyng. ¶ Sedes and saythe / Lest we astrybe / to the one that which belongeth to the other / and make of Christ Moses / of the gospell the Lawe / despise grace and robbe saythe: and fall from meke lernynge into ydelt despiciōus / brangling and scoldynge aboute wordes. ¶ The olde testamēt is a booke / where in is wytten the lawe and cōmaundmēt of god / and the dedes of them which fulfill them / and of them also which fulfill them nott.

The olde testament.

The newe testament

The gospel or euangelion

¶ The newe testamēt is a booke where in are cōteyned the promyses of god / and the dedes of them which beleue them or beleue them nott.

Euāgelio (that we call the gospel) is a greke worde / and signifyth good / mery / glad and ioyfull tydings / that maketh a mannes heart glad / and maketh hym synge / daunce and keepe for ioye. As when Davyd had kylled Golyath the geant / cam glad tydings vnto the iewes / that their fearefull and cruell enemy was slayne / and they delyvered oute of all daunger: for gladnes were of / they songe / daunced / and wer ioyfull. In lyke manner is the euangelion of god (which we call gospell) and the newe testamēt) ioyfull tydings / and as some saye: a good hearing published by the apostles throughe oute all the worlde / of Christ the right Davyd howe that he hath fought with synne / with dethe / and the deuill / and ouer come them. Whereby all men that were in bondage to synne / wounded with dethe / ouercū of the deuill / are with oute there awne merittes or deservings / losed / iustified / restored to lyfe / and saved / brought to libertie / and reconciled vnto the fauour of god / and sett at one with hym agayne: which tydings as many as beleue / and prayse and thancke god / are glad / synge and daunce for ioye.

whi the euangelion ys called a testamēt

¶ This euangelion or gospell (that is to saye / suche ioyfull tydings) is called the newe testament. Because that as a man

Prologge.

when he shall dye a poynterh his goodd^y to be dealte and distributed after hys dethe amonge them which he nameth to be his heyres. Even so Christ before his dethe commaunded and appoynted that suche evangelion/gospell/or tydyng^y shulde be declared through oute all the worlde/and there w^{it}h to geue vn to all that beleve all his goodd^y/that is to saye/his lyfe/where with he swallowed and deuoured vp dethe: his rightewesnes/where with he bānyshed synne:his saluacion/where with he o^uvercam eternall damacion. Howe can the wretched man (that is wrapped in synne/and is in daunger to dethe and hell) heare no moare ioyus a thyng^e/then suche glad and comfortable tyding^y/of Christ. So that he cannot but be glad and laugh from the lowe bottom of his hert / if he beleve that the tydyng^y are trewe.

¶ To strength such feythe with all/ god promysed this his euāgelion in the olde testament by the prophett^y (as paul sayth in the fyrst chapter vnto the romans). Howe that he was chosen oute to preache godd^y euāgelion/which he before had promysed by the prophett^y in the holy scriptur^y that treat of his sonne which was borne of the seed of davyd.. In the thyrd chapter of gennesis/god saith to the serpent: y wyll put hatred bitwene the and the woman / bitwene thy seede and her seede / that silf seede shall tread thy heed vnder fore. Christ is this womans seede / he it is that hath troden vnder fore the deuyll^y heed / that is to saye synne/dethe/hell/ and all his power. For with oute this seede can no man avoyde synne/dethe/hell and euerlastyns gedānacion.

¶ Agayne gen. xii. god promysed Abraham sayige: in thy seede shall all the generatōis of the erthe be blessed. Christ is that seede of Abraham sayth saynet Paul in the thyrd to the galathyans He hath blessed all the worlde through the gospel. For where Christ is not/there remaineth the curffe that felon add^e as soone as he had synned/So that they are in bondage vnder the domination of synne/dethe/and hell. Agaynst this curffe bleffeth nowe the gospell all the worlde/in a smoehe as it cryeth openly/ who so ever beleueth on the seede of Abraham shalbe blessed/that is/he shalbe dellyvered frō synne/dethe and hell/and shall hence forth contynue righewes/lyvinge/and saved for euer / as Christ

The
hym sylffe saith (in the xi. of Jhon) He that beleveth on me (hall
never more dye.

¶ The lawe (saith the gospell of Jhon in the first chapter) was
geven be Moses: but grace and veritie be Jesus Christ. The la-
we (whose minister ys moyses) was geven to brynge vs vnto the
knowledge of oure selues / that we myght there by fele and per-
ceave what we are of nature. The lawe condemmeth vs and all
oure dedes / and is called of Paul (in the thryd chap. of the second
pistle vnto the corinthians) the mynistracion of derthe. For it
syffeth oure consciences and driveth vs to desperacion / in as mo-
che as it requyret of vs that whych is vnpossible for vs to doo.
It requyret of vs the dede of an whole / man. It requyret per-
fecte love from the lowe bottonne and grounde of the hert / as
well in all thinge whych we suffre / as in tho thinge whych we
doo. But saith Jhon (in the same place) grace and veritie is ge-
vin vs in christ. So that when the lawe hath passed vpon vs /
and eodded vs to death (whych is his nature to doo) then have
we in Christ grace / that is to saye favoure / promyses of lyfe / of
mercy / of perdon frely by the merites of Christ / and in Christ ha-
ve we veritie and trouthe / in that god fulfillith all his promyses
to the that beleve. Therefore is the gospell the ministracion of lyfe.
Paul calleth hit / in the fore rehearced place of the secod chap. to
the cor. the ministracion of the spyrite / and of rightewesnes. In
the gospell when we beleve the promyses / we receave the spyrite
of lyfe / and are iustified in the bloud of Christ from all thinge
wher of the lawe condemned vs. Of Christ it is writen in the
fore rehearced first chapter of Jhō: This is he of whose aboun-
dauce / or fullnes / all we have receaved / grace for grace / or
favoure for favoure. That is to saye / for the favoure that god
hath to his sonne Christ / he geveith vnto vs his favour / and
good will / as a father to his sonnes. As affirmeth Paul sayinge:
whych loved vs in his beloved before the creation of the worl-
de. For the love that god hath to Christ / he loveth vs / and not for
oure awne saite. Christ is made lorde over all / and is called in
scripture godde of mercy stole whosoever flyeth to Christ / can ne-
ther heare nor receave of god eny other thinge save mercy.

¶ In the olde testament are many promyses / whych are nothin-
ge els but the evangelion or gospell / to save those that beleved

Prologge.

them / from the vengauce of the lawe. And in the newe testamēt is ofte made mencion of the lawe / to condem them / whych beleve nott the promyses. Moreover the lawe and gospell maye never be seporate: for the gospell and promyses serue but for troubled consciency whych ar brought to desperacion and fele the paynes of heff and dethe vnder the lawe / and are in captiuitie and bondage vnder the lawe. In all my dedes y muste haue the lawe before me to condem myne vnperfectnes. For all that y doo (be y never so perfecte) is yet damnable synne / when hit is compared to the lawe / whych requyrethe the grounde and bottoom of myne hert. I muste therefore haue alwayes the lawe in my sight / that y maye be inke in the spyrite / and gyue god all the laude and prayse / as crybinge to hym all rightewesnes / and to my sylfe all vnrightewesnes and synne. I muste also haue the promyses before myne eyes / that y despyere nott / in whych promyses y see the mercy / sauoure / and good wyff of god apou me in the bloud of his sonne Christ / whych hath made satisfaction for myne vnperfectnes / and fulfilled for me / that whych y coulde nott doo.

¶ Here maye ye perceave that two manner of people are sore deceaved. Firste they whych iustifie them silfe with outwarde dedes / in that they abstayne outwardly from that whych the lawe forbidde / and doo outwardly that whych the lawe commaundeth. They compare them selues to open synners and in respecte of them iustifie them selues condemnynge the open synners. They see nott howe the lawe requyrethe love from the bottoom of the hert. If they dyd they wolde nott condēne there neighbours. Love hydeth the multitude of synnes / saith saynt Peter in his first pistle. For whom y love from the depe bottoom and grounde of myne hert / hym condem y nott / nether reckē his synnes / but suffre his weaknes and infirmyte / as a mother the weaknes of her sonne / vntill he growe vppē in to a perfecte mā.

¶ These also are deceaved whych with oute all feare of god geve them selues vnto all māner vices with full cōsent / and full delectaciō / havinge no respecte to the lawe of god (vnder whose vengauce they are locked vp in captiuitie) but saye: god is mercifull and christ dyed for vs / supposinge that suche dremynge and ymaginaciō is that sayth whych is so greatly cōmeded i holy scripture.

The

Waye that is nott fayth / but rather a soliffhe opynion spryngynge of there awne nature / and is nott geuen them of the spyrite of god. Trewe fayth is (as sayth the apostle Paul) the gyfte of god and is geuen to syners after the lawe hath passed apou them and hath brought there constiency vnto the byrm of desperacion / and sorowes of hell.

¶ They that have this right fayth / consent to the lawe that it is rightwes and good / and iustifie god which made the lawe / and have delectacion in the lawe (nott withstandinge that they can nott fulfill it / for there weaknes) and they abhorre what soeuer the lawe forbyddeth / though they cannott avoyde it. And there greate sorowe is / because they cannot fulfill the will of god in the lawe / and the spyrite that is in them cryeth to god nyght and daye for strength and helpe with teares (as sayth Paul) that cannot be expressed with tonge.

A iusticiarie

¶ The firste / that is to saye a iusticiarie / which iustifieth hym selfe with his outwarded dedes / consenteth nott to the lawe in warde / nether hath delectacion therein / ye / he wolde rather that no suche lawe were. So iustifieth he nott god / but hateth hym as a tyrat / nether careth he for the promyses / but will with his awne strength be saveour of hym selfe: no wyse glorifyeth he god / though he seme ourwarde to doo.

A sensewell man

¶ The seconde / that is to saye the sensewell persone / as a voluptuous swyne / nether feareth god in his lawe / nether is thankfull to hym for his promyses and mercy / which is sett forth in Christ to all them that belewe.

A chüsten man.

¶ The right chüsten man consenteth to the lawe that hit is rightwes / and iustifieth god in the lawe / for he affyrmeth that god is rightwes and iuste / which is autor of the lawe / he beleueth the promyses of god / and so iustifieth god / and indyngge hym trewe and beleuinge that he will fulfill hys promyses. With the lawe he condēneth hym selfe and all his dedes / and geueth all the prayse to god. he beleueth the promyses / and ascribeth all trowth to god / thus every where iustifieth he god / and prayseth god.

Nature.

¶ By natnre through the fanle of adam / are we the chyldren of wrath / heyres of the vègeaunce of god by byrth / ye and from oure concepcion / we haue oure fellowship with the damned devyll vnder the power of darknes vnd rule of satan / whyle we

Prologge.

we are yett in oure mothers wombes / though we shewe nett
forthe the frentes of synne / yett are we full of the naturall poy-
son where of all synfull dede? sprynge / and cānott but synne out-
ward? (be we never so yonge) yf occasion be geven / for oure na-
nature is to doo synne / as is the nature of a serpent to styng And
as a serpent yett yōge / or yett vnbrought forthe is full of poyson /
and cannott afterwarde (when the tyme is come and occasion
geven) butt brynge forthe the frentes there of. And as an edder /
a tode / or a snake is hated of man / (nott for the yvell that it hath
done / but for the poyson that is in it and hurt which it cannott
but doo) So are we hated of god for that naturell poyson which
is conceaved and borne with vs / before we doo eny outward y-
vell. And as the yvell / which a venomous worme doeth / maketh
it nott a serpent : but be cause it is a venomous worme. therefo-
re doeth it yvell and poysoneth. And as the frute maketh not the
tree yvell : but because it is an evyll tree / therfore bryngeth it
forth evyll frute / when the season of frute is . Even so doo nott
oure evyll dede? make vs evyll : but because that of nature we
are evell / therfore we bothe thynke and doo evyll / and are vn-
der vengeaunce / vnder the lawe / convicte to eternall damnaciō
by the lawe / and are contrary to the will of god in all oure wyll /
and in all thynge consent to the wyll of the fendes.

¶ By grace (that is to saye by favoure) we are plucked oute of
Adam the grounde of all evyll / and grafted in Chrust the rote of
all goodnes. In Chrust god loved vs his electe and chosen / before
the worlde begā / and reserved vs vnto the knowlege of his son-
ne and of hys holy gospell / and when the gospell is preached
to vs he openeth oure hertes / and geveth vs grace to beleve
and putteth the spirite of Chrust in vs / and we knowe hi-
me as oure sather most mercifull / and consent to the la-
we / and love it inwardly in oure hert / and desyre to fulfyll it /
and so we because we cannot / which will (synne we offray-
tiener so moche) is sufficient till more strenght be gevē vs / the
bloud of Chrust hath made satisfaction for the reste: the bloud of
Christ hath obteyned all thigge for vs of god. Christ is oure saris-
faction / redemer / delyverer / saveour from vengeaunce and w-
ath. Observe and merke in the pistles of Paul / and Peter / and

B

The

Fayth/love/
woikes in the gospell and pistles of Ihon what Christ is vnto vs.

¶ By fayth are we saved only in beleuyng the promyses / And though fayth be never with oute love and good werkes / yet is oure savinge imputed nether to loue nor vnto good werkes / but vnto fayth only. For loue and werkes are vnder the lawe which requyret h perfection / and the grounde and fountayne of the hert / and dāneth all imperfectnes. Nowe is fayth vnder the promyses / wich dāne not; but geve all grace / mercy and favour / and what so ever is concernyd in the promyses.

Rightewes/
nes other wi
se iustifyinge
or iustice

¶ Rightewesnes is divers / Blynde reason ymagineth many maner of righte wesnes. As the iuste ministracion of all maner of lawes / and the obseruinge of them / and mozt vertues were in philosophers put there felicitie and blessednes / which all are nothige in the sight of god. There is in lyke maner the iustifyinge of ceremones / some ymagid them there one selues / some conterfaict other / sayinge in there blynde reason: suche holy persons dyd thus and thus / and they were holy mē / therfore yf y doo so lyke wyse y shall please god; but they have none answer of god / that that pleaseth. The iewes seke rightewnes in there ceremones which god gave vnto them / nor so: to iustifie; but to describe and paynt Christ vnto them / of whiche iewes testifieth paul sayinge howe that they have affectiō to god; but not after knowlege / for they go aboute to stablisse there one iustice / and are not obediēt to the iustice or rightewesnes that cometh of god. The cause is verely / that receypte a man caste a waye his awne ymaginacion and reason / he cannot perceave god / and vnderstonde the vertue and power of the blond of Christ. There is the rightewesnes of wo:kes (as y saide before) whē the hert is a waye / they sele not howe the lawe is spirituall and cannot be fulfilled / but from the bottom of the hert. Ther is a full rightewesnes / when the lawe is fulfilled from the groude of the hert. This had nother Peter nor Paul in this lyfe perfectly: but syghed after yt. They were so far forth blessed in Christ / that they hūgred and thursted after it. Paul had this thurst / he cōsented to the lawe of god / that it ought so to be / but he founde an other luste in his membres cōtrary to the luste and desire of his mynde / and therfore cryed oute sayinge: Oh wretched man that y am: who shall delvyre

Prologge

me from this boddy of derhe/ thanky be to god throuwe Jesus Christ. The rightewesnes that before god is of value/is to beleve the promyses of god/after the lawe hath confounded the conscience. As when the temporall lawe ofte tymes condemneth the thefe or morderer and byngeth hym to execution/so that he seith nothinge before hym but presentethe /and then cometh good rydyng/a charter from the kynge and delyvereth him. Lyke wyse when gooddys lawe hath brought the synner into knowlege of him sylfe/and hath cofounded his conscience/and opened onto him the wrath and vengeaunce of god/then cometh good rydyng/the Evangelion sheweth vnto him the promyses of god in Christ/and howe that Christ hath purchesed perdon for him hath satisfied the lawe for him / and peased the wrath of god/ and the povre synner beleveth/landerh and thanketh god/throuwe Christ/and breaketh oute into excedyng inward ioy and gladnes/for that he hath escaped so greate wrath/so hevy vengeaunce/so fearfull and so everlastyng a derhe / and he hence forth is an hūgred and athurst after more rightewesnes/that he might fulfill the lawe/and morneth continually commēdyng his wealnes vnto god in the bloud of oure saviour Christ Jesus

¶ Here shall ye see compendiously and playnly sett orte the order and practise of every thyng afore rehearsed .

¶ The faule of adam hath made vs heyres of the vengeaunce and wrath of god/and heyres of eternall dānacion. And hath brought vs into captivite and bondage vnder the devyll. And the devyll is oure lorde/and oure ruler/oure heed/oure governour/oure prince/ye and oure god. And oure wyll is locked and fnet fast vnto the wyll of the devyll/then conde an hundred thowsand cheynes bynde a man vnto a post. Vnto the devyll will consent we/with all oure hertes/with all oure myndes/with all oure myght/power/strength/will and luste . With what poysoned/deadly/and venomous hate/hateth a man his enemy? With howe greate malice of mynde inwardly doo we sleie and murder? With what violēce and rage/ye and with howe fervent luste comytt we aduoutrie/sonnicacion/and such lyke unclennes? with what pleasure and delectation inwardly serveth a glotton his belly? With what diligēce disceave we? Howe busly seke we the

Adam byngeth vs to bondage

The

thynges of this world: What soe ver we doo/thynke/o: ymmani-
on/is abominable in the syght of god. And we are as it were as-
lepe in so depe blyndnes/that we can nether se/no: sele in what
miseri/thraldom/and wretchednes we are in/ tyll moyses come
and wake vs/and publesshe the lawe. When we heare the lawe
truly preached / howe that we ought to love and honoure god
with all oure strengthe and myght / from the lowe bottom of
the hert: and oure neghbur? (ye oure enemyes) as oure selues in-
wardly from the grounde of the hert/and to doo what soever god
biddeh/and absterne from what soever god fo:biddeh / with
all love and meknes/ whic a fervent and a burnyng luste/ from
the center of the hert / then begynneth the conscience to rage
against the lawe/and agenst god/ No see he hit never se greate a
tempte/ is so ynquiet. It is not possyble for a naturall man to
consent to the lawe / that hit shuld be good/ or that god shuld be
rightewes/ which maketh the lawe. Mannes wirt/reason/and
will/ are so fast glued/ye navled and cheyned vnto the will of the
deuyll. Nether can eny creature lowse the bodes/ save the blond
of Christ.

Christ setteth
vs att liberte

This is the captivite and bondage whēce Christ delyvred vs /
redemed/and lowsed vs. His blond/his decthe/his pacience/in
sufferynge rebukes and wrongs/his prevaers and fastyngs/his
mekenes and fulfillyng of the vtmost poynte of the lawe / pea-
sed the wrath of god/brought the favor of god to vs agayne/ ob-
teyned that god shuld love vs fryste/and be oure father/and that
a mercysfull father/that will consyde oure infirmitates and we-
aknes/and will geve vs his spyrite ageyne (which was taken a-
waye in the fall of Adam) to rule govern and strengthe vs/ and
to breake the bondes of Satan/where in we were so streyte bo-
unde. When Christ is thus wyse preached/and the promyses re-
heareed/ which are concernyd in the prophetys/in the psalmes/
and in divers places of the fyve booke of moyses: then the hertys of
them which are electe and chose/begin to wepe softe/and to mel-
te att the bouiteous mercy of god/and kyndnes shewed of Christ.
For whē the evāgelion is preached/the spyrite of god entreteth i to
them which god hath ordyned and apoynted vnto eternall lyfe/
and openeth there inward eyes / and worketh such belefe in thē.

The evāgeli-
on byngeth
faythe/faythe
byngeth love
love worketh

Prologge.

Whē the woofull cōsciēces fele ⁊ taste howe swete a thigē the byt-
ter dethe of Christ is / ⁊ howe mercyfull ⁊ loringe god is through
Christes purchesyngē and merit / They begyn to love agayne /
and to consent to the lawe of god / howe that hit is good / and
ought so to be / and that god is rightewes whych made it / And
desyre to fulfill the lawe / even as a sicke mā desyret to be who-
le / and a sicke mā an hongred / and a thirst after more rightewesnes /
and after more strēgthe / to fulfill the lawe more perfectly. And
in all that they doo / or omitt and leave vndone / they seke goddes
honoure / and his will with meknes / ever condemnyngē the on-
perfecnes of there dedes by the lawe.

¶ Nowe Christ stonderth vs in double stede / and serveth vs two
maner wise. First he is oure redemer / deliuerer / reconciler / me-
diator / intercessor / advocat / attorney / soliciter / cure hoope / com-
forte / helpe / proteccion / defender / strength / helth / satisfaction /
and salvacion. His blond / his death / all that he ever dyd / is ou-
res. And Christ him silffe / with all that he is or cā doo / is oures.
His blond shedyngē and all that he dyd / doeth me as good ser-
vice / as though y my silffe had done it. And god (as greate as
he is) is myne with all that he hath / throw Christ and his pur-
chasyngē. ¶ Secundaryly after that we be overcome with lo-
ve and kyndnes / and nowe seke to doo the will of god (whych is
a christen manes nature) Then have we christe an ensample to
counterfet / as saith christ him silffe in Jhon: I have gyven you
an ensample. And in an other evangeliste / he saith: He that wil-
be greate amonge you shalbe youre servaunt and minister / as
the sōne of mā cā to minister and not to be ministered vnto. And
Paul saith: Counterfet Christ. And Peter saith: Christ died for
you / and lestē you and ensamples to folowe his steppes. What
soever therfore faith hath receaved of god throw Christys blond
and deservyngē / that same must love shed oute everywhitt / and
bestowe hit on onre neyghbour vnto there proffet / ye and that
though they be oure enemys. Be saith we receave of god / and be
love weshed oute agayne. And that must we doo frely after the
ensample of Christ with oute eny other respecte / save oure
neyghbourys welth only / and nether loke for rewarde in erth / ner
yet in heven for oure dedes: but of pure love must we bestowe

Christ byn-
gerth all good
nes frely / and
gereth an en-
sample howe
to be stowe ic
godly.

Faythe recei-
veth of god /
and love be-
stoweth the
same on hys
neyghbour.

The

A trewe christyn man beleueth that he/ vpon ys hys alredestes purchesinge/ and therfore loveth/ and worketh/ to honoure god only / and to drawe althinnes to god.

oure selves/ all that we have/ and all that we are able to doo/ even on oure enemyes to brynge them to god/ considerynge nothyng but thys welth/ as Christ dyd oures. Christ dyd nott his dedes to obteyne heven therbi (that had bene a madnes) heven was his alreddy/ he was heyre there of/ hit was his becnheritaunce: but dyd them frely for oure sakes/ cōsideringe nothyng but oure welth/ and to brynge the favour of god to vs agayne / and vs to god. As no naturall sonne that is his fathet/ heyre/ doeth his fathet/ will be cause he wolde be heyre/ that he is alreddy be birth: his father gave him that yer he was borne/ and is lothther that he shuld goo with oute it / then he himsilfe hath witt to be: but of puer love doeth he that he doeth. And are him why he doeth eny thyng that he doeth/ he answereth: my father bade/ it is my fathet/ will / it pleaseth my fathet. Bondseruaunt/ worke for hyre/ Children for love. For the fathet with all he hath / is the/ r/ alreddy. So doeth a christen man frely all that he doeth/ considereth nothyng but the will of god/ and his neghbour/ welth only. Yf I live chaste/ I doo hit nott to obteyne heven therby. For then shulde y doo wronge to the bloud of Christ: Christes bloud hath obteyned me that / Christes merett/ have maden me heyre there of. He is both dore and waye therward. Nether that y loke for an hyer roume in heve/ then they shall have whych liue in wedlocke/ other then a hoare of the stewes (yf she repent) for that wereth the pryde of lucifer: But frely to wayte on the evangelion/ and to serue my brother with all/ even as one hande helpeth another/ or one membre another/ because one feleth another/ grefe/ and the payne of the one is the payne of the other. What soever is done to the leest of vs (whether it be good or bad) it is done to Christ. And what soever is done to my brother (if y be a christen man) that same is done to me. nether doeth my brother/ payne greveme lesse then myne awne. Nether reioyse y lesse at his welth then at myne awne. Yf hit were nor so: hewe saith Paul: let him that reioyseth / reioyse in the Lord. that is to saye christ/ whych is lord over all creatures. Yf my merett/ obteyned me heve/ or an hyer roume there/ then had y where in y myght reioyse besydes the Lord.

¶ Here se ye the nature of the lawe/ and the nature of the evāgē

lion. Howe the Lawe byndereth and dāneth all mē/and the Eoā^o
 lion lowseth them ageyne. The lawe goeth before/and the eoā^o To bynd and
 gediō foloweth. When a preacher preacheth the Lawe / he byn^o lowse.
 deth all consciences/and when he preacheth the Gospell/helov^o
 seth them agayne. These two salves (y meane the Lawe and the
 Gospell) vsseth God and his preacher to heale and cure synners
 with all. The lawe dryveth oute the disease/and maketh hit a pe^o
 re/and is a sharppesalve/and a freatyngē corsey/and fylleth the
 deed fleshe/and lowseth and draweth the fores out by the rotes/
 and all corrupcion. It pulleth from a man the trust and confi^o
 dēce that he hath in him silfe / and in his one work^o / merit^o/
 deservyng^o and ceremonies. It killeth him / sendeth him downe
 to hell/and bryngeth him to utter desperacion/and preparereth
 the waye of the lord/as hit is wrytten of Jhon the Baptest.
 For hit is nott possible that Christ shuld come to a man/as lo^o
 ge as he trusteth in him silfe / or in eny worldly thyngē. Then
 commeth the Evangelion / a more gentle plaster / whych sow^o
 pleth/and swageth the woundes of the conscience/and bryngeth
 helth. It bryngeth the spyrite of god / whych lowseth the ben^o
 des of satan/and coplert vs to god and his will:row stronge
 faith and fervent love/with bondes to stronge for the devyll/the
 world/ or eny creature to lowse them. And the porre and wret^o
 ched synner seletth so greate mercy/love / and kyndnes in god/
 that he is suer in him silfe howe that it is nott possible that god
 shuld forsake him/or withdrawe his mercy and love from him.
 And boldly cryeth out with Paul sayinge: Who shall seperate
 vs frō the love that god loveth vs withall? That is to saye. what
 shall make me beleve that god loveth me nott? Shall tribulaci^o
 on: Angnysshe: Persecucion: Shall hūger: Nakednes: Shall a
 swarde: Nay/ I am sencer that nether deeth / ner lyse/ nether
 angell/ nether rule/ ner power/ nether present thyng^o/ ner thyn^o
 g^o to come/ nether hyc ner lowe/ nether eny creature is able to se
 perate vs frō the love of god which is in christ Jesu our lorde.
 In all suche tribulacions a Christen man perceaveth that god is
 his father / and loveth hym / even as he loved Christ when he
 shed his blond on the crosse. Synally/as before/whē y was bōd
 to the devyll and his will/y w:oght all māner evyll and wicked^o
 nes/nott for helles sake which is herewarde of syrie/ but be cause

A christē mā
 feletth the
 workyngē of
 the holy goost
 in his soule.
 and in all tri/
 butacions
 and adversi/
 ties fealetth
 god a mercy/
 full father and
 a loryngē.

The

y was heyre of hell by birth and bondage to the deuyll/dyd ye
 vyll. for I could none other wese doo. to doo syn was my nature.
 Even so nowe sence y am copled to god by Christes bloud /doo
 y well/uott for heuens sake:but be cause y am heyre of heven by
 grace and Christ? purchesyng /and have the spyrir of god/I
 doo good frely/for so is my nature.As a good tree bryngeth forth
 good frute/and an evyll tree evyll frute. By the frutes I shall ye
 knowe what the tree is. a mannes dedes declare what he is
 with in but make him nether good ner bad &c.We must be first
 evyll yer we doo evyll/as a serpent is first poysoned yr he poyson.
 We must be also good yer we doo good/as the fyre must be first
 hott yer hit warme eny thyng. Take an ensample. As those
 blynde whych are cured in the ewangelion / coude nott se tyll
 Christ had geven them sight/ And deff coude nott heare / tyll
 Christ had geven them hearyng/And those sicke coude nott doo
 the dedes of an whole man/tyll Christ had geven them health:
 So can no man doo good in his soule / tyll Christ have lowsed
 him oute of the bondes of satā/and have geve him where with
 to doo good/ye and sirste have powred into him that selfe good
 thyng whych he shedeth forth afterwarde on other. What soe
 ver is cure awnc is synne. What soever is above that / is Chri
 st? gyste/purche/doyng/and workyng. He bought it of his
 father derely with his bloud/ye with his moost bitter death and
 gave his lyfe for hit. What soever good thyng is in vs / that is
 given vs frely with oute oure deservyng or merett? for
 Christ? bloud? sake. That we desyre to folow the will
 of god/it is the gyste of Chust? bloud. That we nowe
 hate the deuyll? will (where vnto we were so
 fast locked/and coude nott but love hit) is
 also the gyste of Chustes bloud/vnto
 whom belongeth the preysse and
 honoure of oure good dedes/
 and nott vnto vs.

The booke conteyned in the newe Testament.

i	The gospell of saynct Mathew
ii	The gospell of S. Marke
iii	The gospell of S. Luke
iiii	The gospell of S. Ihon
v	The actes of the apostles written by S. Luke
vi	The epistle of S. Paul to the Romans
vii	The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to the Corrinthians
viii	The second pistle of S. Paul to the Cortinthians
ix	The pistle of S. Paul to the Galathians.
x	The pistle of S. Paul to the Ephesians.
xi	The pistle of S. Paul to the Philippians
xii	The pistle of S. Paul to the Collossians
xiii	The fyrst pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tessalonians
xiiii	The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tessalonians
xv	The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvi	The seconde pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvii	The pistle of S. Paul to Titus
xviii	The pistle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
xix	The fyrst pistle of S. Peter
xx	The seconde pistle of S. Peter
xxi	The fyrst pistle of S. Ihon
xxii	The seconde pistle of S. Ihon
xxiii	The thryd pistle of S. Ihon

The pistle vnto the Ebrues
 The pistle of S. James
 The pistle of Jude
 The revelacion of Ihon.



The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.



Whys ys the boke of

the generaciō of Iesus Christ the so-
ne of David/ The sonne also of Abra-

ham begatt Isaac: Chā.

Isaac begatt Jacob:

Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre-

Judas begatt Phares: (thren:

and Zaram of thamar:

Phares begatt Esrom:

Esrom begatt Aram:

Aram begatt Aminadab:

Aminadab begatt naassan:

Naasson begatt Salmon:

Salmon begatt boos of rahab:

Boos begatt obed of ruth:

Obed begatt Jesse:

Jesse begatt david the kynge:

David the kynge begatt Solomon/ of her that was the
(wyse of pry:

Roboam begatt Abia:

Abia begatt asa:

Asa begatt iosaphat:

Josaphat begatt Joram:

Joram begatt Osias:

Osias begatt Joatham:

Joatham begatt Ahas:

Ahas begatt Ezechias:

Ezechias begatt Manasses:

Manasses begatt Amon:

Amon begatt Josias:

Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of
the captivite of babilon

After they were led captive to babilon/ Jechonias begatt

* Abraham and David are fyrst re-
hearsid/ because
that chyste was
chefly promysed
vnto them.

Saynet mathew
leveh out certc/
yne generacions/
z describeth Ch/
ristes linage from
solomō/ after the
lawe of Moses/
but Lucas descri/
beth it accordyng
to nature/ frō na/
chan solomōs br/
other. For the la/
we calleth them
a mannes childrē
which his broder
begatt of his wy/
fe left behynde
hym after his de/
the. deu. xxv. c.

The Gospell of

salathiel.

Salathiel begatt Zorobabel:

Zorobabell begatt Abiud:

Abiud begatt Eliachim:

Eliachim begatt Azor:

Azor begatt Sadoc:

Sadoc begatt Achin:

Achin begatt Eliud:

Eliud begatt Eleasar:

Eleazar begatt Matthan:

Matthan begatt Jacob:

Jacob begatt Joseph the husband of mary / of whom was borne that Jesus which ys called chust.

* That ys to saye by the workige ⁊ power of the holy goste.

* Defame

That is he wolde not put her to open shame / as he wel might haue done bi the lawe . Also marthe w reioysith of the goodnes of ioseph / which for loves sake dyd re myt of his right.

* Jesus .

Jesus is asmo / che to saye as a sa ver / for he onli sa veth all men from their synnes bi his merces with ou re there deserving

All the generacions from Abraham to David ar fowre tene generaciōs . And from David vnto the captivite of babilon / ar fowre tene generaciōs . And from the captivite of babilon vnto chust / ar also fowre tene generacions .

The byrthe of Chust was on this wyse / when his mother Mary was married vnto Joseph / before they cam to dwell together / she was founde with chylde by the holy * goost . The her husbände Joseph / beinge a perfecte man / and lothe to * defame her / was mynded to put her awaye secretly . Whyle he thus thought / beholde / the angel of the lord e apered vnto him in his slepe sayinge : Joseph the sonne of David / feare not to take vnto the / Mary thy wyse . For that which is conceaved in her / is of the holy goost . She shall bynge forth a sonne / and thou shalt call his name * Jesus . For he shall save his people from their synnes .

All this was done / to fulfill that which was spoken of the lord / by the prophet sayinge : beholde a mayde shall be with chylde / and shall bynge forth a sonne / and they shall call his name Emannell / which is as moche to saye / be interpretaciō on / as god with vs .

Chuste byngeth god . where Eliud / it is there is god / and were chust is not there is not god .

* Till

she . yeshall nott suppose that he

Joseph as soone as he awoke out of slept / dyd as the angel of the lord e bade hym / and toke his wyse vnto him / and knewe her nott / tyll she hadde brought forth her first sonne / and called his name Jesus .

The Seconde Chapter.



When Jesus was borne in beth

lehem a tounce of iury/in the time of kynge Herode/ beholde/ there cam x wyse men fro the este to Jerusalem sayinge: where is he that is borne kynge of the iewes? we have sene his starre in the este/ and are come to worshipp him.

¶ Herode the kynge/ after he hadde herde this / was troubled/ and all Jerusalem with hym / and he sent for all the chiefe prestes and scribes of the people/ and demaunded of them where Christ shulde be borne. They sayde vnto him: in bethlehem a tounce of iury. For thus is it wrytte by the prophet: *mich. v* And thou bethlehem in the lode of **iury* / shalt not be the leest as perteynyng to the prync of iuda. For out of the shall come a captayne / whych shall govern my people israhel.

¶ Then Herod preyely called the wyse men / and dyligently enquired of them/ the tyme of the starre that appered. And sent them to bethlehem sayinge: when ye be come thyder see arche dyligently for the chylde. And when ye haue founde hym bringe me worde/ that y maye come and worshipp him also. Whē they had herde the kynge/ they departed/ and lo the starre whych they sawe in the este went before them/ vntyll it came and stode over the place where the chylde was. Whē they sawe the starre/ they were marvellously gladd. And entred into the house/ and found the childe with Mary hys mother/ and kneled doune and worshipped hym / and opened there treasures/ and offred vnto him gystes / gold/ frackynsence / and myr. And after they were warned in their slepe / that they shulde not go a geyne to Herod/ they returned into there awne countre another waye.

¶ After that they were departed / lo the angell of the lorde appered to Joseph in his slepe sayinge: aryse and take the chylde and his mother/ and flye in to egipre / and abyde there tyll y bryng the worde. For Herod wyll seeke the chylde to destroye

knew her after / ward/ but hit is the maner of the scripture so to speake / as ge. viij. c. the rayn cam not agayne till the water was droke vpe and the erth drye/ the scripture meaneth noit / he cam agayne after ward: eyn loo here/ hit foloweth not that ioseph ke we oure lady after ward.

** wyse men.*
Of mathew they ar called Magi / 2 in certeyn countreis the est / philosophers conynge in naturall causes 2 effectes/ and also the prestes/ were so callyd.

** Jery is the londe. Juda is that trybe or kynred that dwelt there in.*

The Gospell of

hym. Then he arose / and toke the chyld and his mother by nyght / and departed into egipte / and was there vnto the deathe of herod / to fulfill that which was spoken of the lord / by the prophet / which sayeth: out of egipte haue y called my sonne. ¶ Then Herod perceauynge that he was mocked of the wyse men / was excedynge wrathe / and sent forth and slewe all the chyldre that were in bethlehē / and i all the coastes there of / as many as were two yere olde and vnder / accordige to the tyme which he had diligently searched out of the wyse men.

De. xi.
Nu.
xxiii

* Rachel was buried nor ferre from bethlehem / and the prophet signifieth that as she mourned her sone beniamyn / in whoes birth she dyed / so shuld the mothers of these chyldren mourne. And here maye we see howe it goeth all waye / with the righte christen men before the world / for the saythes sake / which they haue yn christe / nott withstandinge they are wonderfullly mayntained & defended alwaye of god / ageynst all power of hell.

¶ Then was fulfilled / that which was spokē by the prophet Jeremi / sayinge: On the hilles was a voice herde / mournynge / wepyng / and greate lamentacion. * Rachel wepyng for her childre / and wolde not be confort / be cause they were not.

Jere.
xxxi.

¶ When Herod was deed / lo an angell of the lord appeared vnto Ioseph in egipte sayinge: arise and take the chyld and his mother / and go into the londe of israhel. For they are deed / which sought the chyldes deeth. The he arose vp / and toke the chyld and his mother / and cam into the londe of israhel. But when he herde that Archilaus dyd raygne in iury / in the roume of his father Herod / he was afrayd to go thyder / notwithstandinge after he was warned in his slepe / he turned aside into the parties of galile / and wēt and dwelt in a cete called nazareth / to fulfill / that which was spokē by the prophet: He shalbe called of nazareth.

Isai. ri.
Judi.
rii.

The thryde Chapter.



At those dayes Ihon the baptysyer / cam and preached in the wyldernes of iury saynge: repent / the kyngedome of heven ys at hond. Thys ys he of whom it ys spoken by the prophet Isay / which sayth: the voice of a cryer in wyldernes / prepaire ye the lordes waye / and make hys pathes strayght.

Lu. iij.
Iho. i

¶ Thys Ihon had hys garment of camell / heere / and a gyrdyll of a flynne about hys loynes. Hys meate was * locust / and wyldhe ony. Then went out to him Jerusalem / and all

Isa. ri.
Mar. i

* Locustes / are more then oware

ienry/and all the region rounde about iordane/and were baptysed of hym in iordane/knowledgyngc there synnes.

¶ Whē he sawe many of the pharises and of the saduces come to hys baptim/ he sayd vnto hē. O generacion of vipers/ who hath taught you to flye frō the vegaunce to come? brynge forthe therfore the frutt? belongynge to repentaunce. And se that ye once thynke not to saye in youre selues/ we have Abraham to oure father. For y saye vnto you /that godys able of these stones/ to reyse vp chyldrē vn to Abraham. Euen now weys the are put vnto the rote of the trees: so that every tree whych bryngeth not forth/ good frute/ shalbe hewen doune/ and cast in to the fyre/

¶ Baptise you in water/ in token of repentaunce / but he that cometh after me/ ys myghtyer thē y: whose shewes y am not worthy to beare. He shall baptise you with the holy goost/ & with fyre/ whiche hath also hys sanne in hys hond/ and wyll pourdge hys floore/ and gaddre the wheete in to hys garner/ and will burne the chaff with everlastinge fyre.

¶ Then cam Jesus from galile into iordan to Jhon/ for to be baptised of him. But Jhon forbade hym sayinge: y ought to be baptised of the: and comest thou te me? Jesus answered and sayd to him/ let ytt be so nowe. For thus hit becōmeth vs/ to fulfyll all *rightewesnes. Thē he suffred hym. And Jesus as soone as he was baptised/ cā strayght our of the water: And lo heve was opē vnto him: and he sawe the spirite of god descēde lyke a dove/ and lyght vppō him. And lo there cam a voice frō heve saying: thys ys my deare sonne/ in whom is my delyte.

Joh. i.
Wat.
xviij.

The fourgthe Chapter.

Wat. i.
Lu. iiij.

¶ Then was Jesus led awaie of the spirite in to a desert / to be tempted of the devyll. And when he had fasted fourtye dayes/ and xl. nyghtes / att the last he was anhungred. Then came vntyll hym the tempter/ and sayde: yff thou be the sonne of god/ commannde that these stones be made breed.

greshoppers/ & southe men vse to easre i divers parties of the cite.

Put youre truste i goddes wordes only/ & not i abraham. Let sayntes be an ensāple vnto you & not youre truste & cōfidence For then ye make Christ of them.

* All Rightewesnes / ys fulfilled when we forsake all oure awne rightewesnes / that god only maye be counted he whych is right wes / & maketh right wes / right wes / throw feith. This doeth Jhon i that he putteth frō hym hys awne right wesnes / & wold be witnesshed of Christ ad made right wes. This also doeth Christ / i that he taketh nort rightewesnes & honour on hym: but suffereth hym selfe to be baptised & killed / for baptim is none other thinge then

The Gospell of

He answered and sayde: yt ys wyrtten/ man shall nott live
only bi breade/ But by every worde that proceedeth out of the
mouth of god.

deu. xviii.

Then the deuyll tooke him vp in to the holy cere / and set
hym on a pynacle of the temple/ and sayd vnto him: yf thou be
the sonne of god/ cast thy sylfe doune. For hit ys wyrtten/ he
shall geve hys angell? charge over the/ and with there hædes
they shall licy the vp/ that thou dast he nott thy fote agaynst
a stone. Iesus seyde to hym / hit ys wyrtten also: thou shalt
not tempter thy lorde god.

psal. xc.

Deu. vi.

The deuyll toke hym vp agayne and ledde him in to an ex=
cedyng hie moûtayne / and shewed hym all the kyngdomes
of the worlde/ and the beanty of them/ and sayd vnto him: all
these wyll y geve the / yf thou wilt fall doune and worship=
pe me. Then sayd Iesus vnto hym / aweyd satan. For hit ys
wyrtten/ thou shalt worshippe thy lorde god / and hym only/
shalt thou serue.

Deu. vi

Then the deuyll left him / and lo the angell? cam and mi=
nistred vnto hym.

When Iesus had herde that Jhon was taken / he depar=
ted in to galile / and left nazareth / and went and dwelte in ca=
pernaû / whych ys a cere vppon the see / in the cost? of zabulon
and neptalim / to fulfyll that whych was spoken be I say the
prophet / sayinge: the londe of zabulon and neptalim / the wa=
ye of the see beyond io: dan / galile of the gentyls / the people
whych sitt in dereknes / sawe great lygth / And to them which
satt in the region and shadowe of deeth lygth is spronge.

From that tyme Iesus began to preache / and to saye : Re=
pent / for the kyngedome of heven ys at honde.

When Iesus walked by the see of galile / he sawe two brethren.
Symon whych was called Peter / and Andrew hys brother /
castyng a nett in to the see (ffor they were fysshers) and he
sayd vnto them / folowe me / and I wyll make you fysshers
of men. And they streyght waye leste there nett? / and folowed
hym.

Mat. i

And he went forthe from thence / and sawe other two bre=
thren / James the sonne of zebede / and Jhon his brother in

the shyppes/with Sebede their father /mendinge there netts/
and called them.And they with out taryunge left the shyppes
and there father and folowed hym.

¶ And Iesus wēt about all galile/teachinge in there synago-
ges/ans picachynge the gossell of the kyngdom/and healyn-
ge all manner of syctnes /and all māner diseases amonge the
people. And hys same spred a broadethroughout all siria.
And they brought vnto hym all sicke people/that were taken
with dyvers diseases and gryppynge/and them that were pos-
sessed with devyll/and those which were limaticke/and tho-
se that had the palsy: And he healed the. And there folowed
him a greate noūbre of people/ from galile/ and from the ten
cetes/and from ierusalem /and from iury/and from the re-
gions that lye beyond iordan.

* Erth.
The worlde thi-
kerke too possesse
the erre/and to
defend there aw-
ne/when they vse
violence z power:
but christ teache/
th that the worlde
muste be possessed
with mekenes on-
ly/ and with oute
power and viole-
nce.

The fyfth Chapter.

Lu. vi.



When he sawe the people/ he
went vp into a mountaine/and wen he was sett/
hys disciples cam vnto him / and he opened his
mouth/and taught them sayinge: Blessed are the
povre in spirete: for: there is the kyngdom of heven. Blessed
are they that mourne: for: they shalbe comforted. Blessed are
the meke: for: they shall inheret * the erthe. Blessed are they
which hūger and thirst for: rightewesnes: for: they shalbe fyl-
led. Blessed are the mercifull: for: they shall obteyne mercy.
Blessed are the pure in hert: for: they shall se god. Bless-
ed are the maynteyners of peace: for: they shalbe called
the chyldren of god. Blessed are they which suffre persecucion
for: rightewesnes sake: for: there is the kyngdom of heven.
Blessed are ye whē mens hall revyle you/and persecute you/
and shal falsly saye all manner of evle sayings agaynst you
for my sake. Reioyce ād be gladdē/so: greate is youre rewar-
de in heven. So: so persecuted they the prophettz which were
before youre dayes.

All these dedes
here rehearsed as
to norissh the peace/
ro shewe mercy/
to suffre psecucio/
and so forth/ma-
ke not a man ha-
ppy and blessed/
neither deserve t/
he rewarde of he-
ven: but declare
and testific that
we are happy and
blessed and that
we shall have gr-
eate pmoçio i he-
ven. and certey/
eth vs i our her-
tes that we are
goddess soumes/ z
that the holy go-
ost is in vs. for all
good thynges are
geven to vs frely
of god for christes
blouddes sake ād
his merittes

¶

The gospell.

Salt.
 whē the pharise
 cease too preache
 good wordz/ the
 muste they neede
 be oppressed & r/
 od vnder fote w/
 ith mannes tradi/
 cions.

*** Jort.**

Is as moche too
 safe as the leest
 letter. for so is the
 leest letter that the
 grekes or the he/
 brues haue/called

Breaketh

This do they w/
 hich saye that the
 se Chust?oman/
 dment?are not cō/
 maundmēt? but
 consailes.

*** Theleest**

That is to saye.
 shalbe little set by
 and despised.

Beate

That is /shalbe
 moche sett by / &
 bad in reverence.
 The goodnes of
 the pharisaies / nō
 dith in ovrwarde
 work? & appicra/
 unce: but Chuste
 requyrethe good
 nes of the herre.

*** Racha.**

In the whoarce
 soude in the thro/
 ate/ & betokeneth
 all sygnes of w/
 atch

Ye are the salt of the erthe. but as yf the salt be once vn-
 sa- very/ what can be salted there with: it is thence forth good
 for: nothyng / but to be cast out at the doores/ and that men
 treade it vnder fete. Ye are the light of the worlde. A cite
 that is sett on an hill cannot be hyd/ nether do men light a cā-
 dle and put it vnder a bussell / but on a candelstyeffe / and it
 lighteth all those which are in the housse. Se that youre light
 so shyne before men/ that they maye se youre good werk? / and
 glorysie youre father/ which is in heven.

Ye shall not thynke / that y am come to disanull the lawe
 other the prophetz: no y am not come to dysanull them / but
 to fulfill them. For truly y say vnto you/ tyll heven and erthe
 perysshe/ one * Jort/ or one tytle of the lawe shall not scape/
 tyll all be fulfilled.

Who soevert Breaketh one of these leest commaundment? /
 and shall teche men so/ he shalbe called the * leest in the kyn-
 dom of heven. But whosoever shall observe and teche
 them/ that persone shalbe called? Greate in the kyngdom of
 heven.

For I say vnto you except youre Srightewesnes excede/ the Ero. xx.
 rightewesnes of the scribes and pharyses/ ye cannot entre in 2. r4.
 to the kyngdom of heven.

Ye have herde howe it was sayd vnto them of the olde ty? Lc. xxiij.
 me. Thou shalt not kyll. Whosoever shall kyll / shalbe in da-
 unger of iudgement. But I say vnto you / whosoever ys an-
 gre wih his brotber / shalbe in daunger of iudgemēt. Who-
 soever shall say vnto his brotber * racha / shalbe in daüger of
 a coußeill. But whosoever shall say vnto his brotber thou so-
 le / shalbe in dannger of hell fyre. Therefore whē thou offerest
 thy gyfte at the altre/ and there remembrest that thy brotber
 hath eny thyng agaynst the: leue there thyne offryng be-
 fore the altre/ and go thy waye fyrst and reconyle thy silf to
 thy brotber / and then come and offre thy gyfte.

Agre with thine aduersary at once/ whyles thou arte in the
 waye with hym/ lest thine aduersary deliure thee to the iudg/

Exo. xx. and the iudge deliure the to the minister / and the thou be cast into prison. I say vnto the verely: thou shalt not come out thence tyll thou have payed the vtmoost forthynge.

¶ Ye have herde howe yt was sayde to them of olde tyme / thou shalt not commytt advouric. But I say vnto you / that who soever eyeth a wyfe / lustynge after her / hath commytted advouric with her already in his hert.

¶ Wherfore yf thy right eye offende the / * plucke hym out and caste him from the / Better hit is for the / that one of thy membres perysse then that thy whole body shuld be caste in to hell. Allso yf thy right honde offend the / cutt hym of and caste hym from the. Better hit is that one of thy membres perysse / then that all thy body shulde / be caste in to hell.

Math.
rviii.
mar. ix.
Deu.
xiiiij.
Math.
xij.
mar. x.
Lu. vi.
Le. xix.

¶ Hit ys sayd / who soever put away his wyfe / lett hym geve her a testimony all of her divorcement. But I say vnto you: who soever put away hys wyfe (except hit be for fornicacion) causeth her to breake matrimony / And who soever maryeth her that is divorced / breaketh wedlocke.

¶ Agayne ye haue herde / howe it was said to them of olde tyme / thou shalt not forswere thy silfe / but shalt performe thine othe to god. But I saye vnto you / Swere not at all: nether by heaven / for hit ys goddes seate: nor yet by the erth / for it is hys fore stole: Nether by Jerusalem / for it is the cite of the greate kynge: Nether shalt thou swere by thy heed / because thou canst not make one heer whyte / or blacke: But youre comunicacion shalbe / ye / ye: nay / nay. For what soever is more then that / commeth of evle.

Leu.
xxiiiij.

¶ Ye have herde howe it is sayd / an eye for an eye: a tothe for a tothe. But I say vnto you / that ye with stond not * wroge: But yf a man geve the a blowe on thy right cheke / turne to hym the othre. And yf eny man wyll sue the at the lawe / and take thi coote from the / lett hym have thi clooke also. And who soever wyll compell the to goo a myle / goo wyth hym twayne. Geve to him that axeth: and from him that wolde borowe turne not away.

Deu.
xix.
Luc. vi.
Le. xix.
z. xvi.

* Plucke
To plucke oute
spiritually is he
re commaunded
that is when the
yes luste is put a
waie and kyllid in
the hert.

Swear.
All swearynge z
othes which a mā
of him silfe doith
are here forbyde
never thelesse whē
love / neade / thy
neighbour poffy
te / or goddys hou
oure requyryth
it / then is hit well
done too swear.
like as wrath for
bydden is / z yet is
lawdable whē hit
proceedith of love
to honoure god
with all.

¶ No man shuld a
venge hym silfe
or seke wreeke / no
nott by the lawe:
butt the ruler wh
ich hath the sw
earde shuld do su
ch thyngs of hym
silfe / or when the
negbures off love
warne hym / and
requyre hym.

The gospell

TYe have herde howe it is saide: thou shalt love thyne neighbour/and hate thyne enemy. But y saye vnto you/love youre enemies. Blesse them that curse you. Doo good to them that hate you/Praye for them which doo you wronge/and persecute you/that ye maye be the chyldren of youre hevenly father: for he maketh his sunne to aryse /on the evyle/and on the good/and sendeth his reyne on the iuste and on the oniuiste. For if ye shall love them/which love you: what rewarde shall ye have? Doo not the * publicāns even so? And if ye be freedly to your brethren only: what singuler thyng doo ye? Doo nott the publicans lyke wyse? Ye shall therefore be perfecte/cuē as youre hevenly father is perfecte.

* Publicans gad/
dred rentes/ toll/
custume/ z tribute
for the romans/ z
were comely her/
hen men ther yn/
to appoited of the
romans.

The Syxt Chapter



Make hede to youre almes. Math. xiii. That ye geve it not in the syght of men/ to the intent that ye wolde be sene of them. Or ellſ ye gett no rewarde of youre father in heven. When soever therefore thou gevest thyne almes/ thou shalt not make a trompet to be blown before the / as the ypoerytt^s do in the synagoggs / and in the stretts/ for to be praysed of mē. Verily I say vnto you/ they have there rewarde. But whē thou doest thyne almes/ lett not thy lyfte hōd knowe/ what thy right hond doth/ that thyne almes maye be secrete/ and thy father which seith i secrete/ shall rewarde the openly.

And when thou prayest/ thou shalt nott be as the ypoerytt^s are. For they love to stond and praye in the synagoggs/ and in corners of the stretts/ be cause they wolde be sene of mē. Verily I saye vnto you they haue there rewarde. But whē thou prayest/ entre into thi chamber/ and shutt thi dore to the / and praye to thi father which ys in secrete: and thi father which seith in secrete/ shall *rewarde the openly.

* Rewarde.
ye shall nott thyk/
ne/ that oure ded/

But when ye praye/ babble not moche/ as the gentyls do: for they thinke that they shalbe herde/ for there moche bab

blingſſ ſake. Et ye not lyke them there fore. For youre father knoweth wherof ye have neede / before ye are of him. After thys maner there fore praye ye.

es deſerve ani th/ yng of god as a la bourar deſeruet hys hyre. For all good thynges come of the bounce/ ſuſnes / liberalite/ mercy / promyſes / & trewth of goddi the deſerninge of Chriſt' bloud oſy but it ys a maner of ſpekinge. as we ſaye (thys labour oz going was well rewarded) vns o hi thar hath but ſett only the promyſes of a noddy man.

Zuc. xi. **O**ure father / which art in heven halowed be thy name. Let thy kyngdom come. Thy wyll be fulfilled / as well in erth / as hit ys in heven. Geve vs this daye oure dayly breade. And forgeve vs oure treaſpases / even as we forgeve them whych treaſpas vs. Lede vs nort in to tempracion. but delivre vs from yvell / Amen. For and yf ye ſhall forgeve other men theſe treaſpases / youre father in heve ſhall alſo forgeve you. But and ye will nort forgeve men there treaſpases / no more ſhall / youre father forgeve youre treaſpases

Math.
xviii.
mar. xi.

Morcovre when ye faſte / be not ſad as the ypocrytt are. For thy diſfigure there faces / that hit myght appere vnto me that they faſte. Verely ſay vnto you / they haue there reward. But thou whē thou faſteſt / annoynte thine heed / and waſhe thy face / that it appere not vnto men howe that thou faſteſt: but vnto thy father which ys in ſecrete: and thy father which ſeyth in ſecrete / ſhall rewarde the openly.

Zu. xii.

Gaddre not treaſure to gether on erth / where ruſte and moththes corrupte / and where theves breake through and ſteale. But gaddre ye treaſure to gyddre in heven / whtre neſther ruſte / ner yet moththes corrupte: and where theves neſther breake vppe / ner yet ſteale. For wheresoever youre treaſure ys / there are youre hertty alſo

*Synge.
The eye iſ ſynge when a man i all his dedes loketh butt on the wil of god / & loketh nort for laude / honour oz eni otherre warde in this worlde. nother aſcryneth heven oz a hys roume i here vnto his dedes: but accepteth heven as a thig purchaſed bi the bloud of Chriſte / & workech frely for loſres ſake only.

Zuc. xi.

The light of thy body is thine eye. Wherefore if thine eye be * ſynge / all thy body ys full of light. But and yf thine eye be wycked / then is all thy boddy full of dercknes. Wherefore yf the light that ys in the be dercknes: howe greate ys that dercknes?

Zu. xvi.

No man can ſerve two maſters. For other he ſhall hate the one / and love the other: or els he ſhall lene to the one / and deſpiſe that other. Ye cannott ſerve god and māman. There fore y ſaye vnto you / be not carefull for youre lyſe what ye ſhall cate / or what ye ſhall dryncke / nor yet for youre boddy / what raymēt ye ſhall weare. Ys not the lyſe more worth then meate: and the boddy moare of value then rayment? Beholde

Zu. xii.

The Gospell. of

the foules of the aier: for they sowe not nether reepe / nor yet care into the barnes / and yett youre heuely father fedeth the. Are ye nott better then they ?

¶ Whiche of you (though he toke thought there fore) coulde put one cubit vnto his stature ? And why care ye then for rayment? Be holder the lyles of the felde / howe they growe / They labour nott / nether spyn. And yet for all that I saye vnto you / that even Solomon in all his royalte / was not arayed *ii. Co. ii.* lyke vnto one of these. Wherfore ys god so clothe the grasse / which ys to dawe in the felde / ⁊ to morowe shalbe cast into the *fournaces: shall he not moche more do the same vnto you / o ye of lyttle fayth?

* Fournace.
Wherete there
fournaces ⁊ opens
with suche thyn/
ges in those cun/
treyes.

¶ Therfore take no thought sayinge: what shall we eate / or what shall we drynke / or where with shall we be clothed ? (As fire all these thyngs seke the gentyls) For youre heuely father knoweth that ye haue neade of all these thyngs. But rather seke ye fyrst the kyngdō of heuē / ⁊ the rightewesnes the- re of / and all these thinges shalbe ministred vnto you. Care nott therefore for the daye solowynge. For the daye solowyn- ge shall care for it selfe. The dayes *trouble ys suffycient for the same selfe daye.

* Trouble / is the
dayly labour. he
wil hit be ynough
that we labour
dayly wpyth oute
further care.

The vii. Chapter.

Too Iudge or cō- dem / belongith to god only / ther fore who someuer iu- dgeth with oute gods cōmaund- ment / takith gods / des honoure fro him / ⁊ that is the beame in the eye



Wdge nott lestt ye be iudged. . Luc. vi.

For as ye iudge / so shall ye be iudged. And with what measure ye mere. with that same shall it be me asured to you agayne. Why seist thou a moore in thy brothers eye / and perceavest nott the beame that ys in thine awne eie? Or why saist thou to thy brother: suffre me to plucke out a moore out of thyne eye / And beholde a beame is in thync awne eye. Ypocrite / fyrst cast out the beame out of thync awne eye / and then shalt thou se clerely to plucke out the moore out of thy brothers eye.

* Holye.
The holpe thiges

¶ Geve nott that which is * holly to doggs / nether cast ye

youre pierles before *swyne/lest they treade them vnder the= are the wooorde of
ir fete / and the other turne agayne and all to rent you. god / that sanctifi=
eth all thinges.

Zu. xi. *Jaco. i.* *den. iij.* ¶ **U**ze and hit shalbe geven you : Seke and ye shall fynde / **D**oggs / are the p
knocke and it shalbe opened vnto you . For whosoever areth secuters of the
receaveth / and he that sekerth syndeth / and to him that knoc= woorde .
kerth / it shalbe opened ***S**wyne / are ths
ys there eny man a monge you which ey which are dro/
wolde proffer his sonne a stone if he axed hym breed: or if he wned in fleshly lu
axed fyshe / wolde he proffer him a serpent : **I**f ye then which ste 2 despice the
are erle / can geve to youre chyltren good gystes : howe moche woorde
more shall youre father / whych is in hevē / geve good thinge /
Zu. vi. to them that axe of hym :

¶ **T**herfore what soever ye wolde that men shulde do to you / even so do ye to them. **T**hys is the lawe and the pro=
phetts .

Zu. xij. ¶ **E**ntre in att the straite yate : for wyde is the yate / and
broade ys the waye that leaderth to destruccion : and many
there be / whych goin there at . For straite is the yate / and
narwe is the waie / which leaderth vnto life : and feawe thes
re be / that synde itt .

mar. vij. *Zu. xij.* *Zu. vi.* ¶ **B**e ware of falce prophetts / which come to you / in she=
pes clothyng / but inwardly they are ravenynge wolves.
Ye shall knowe them by there frutes . So men gaddre gra=
pes of thornes : or feggs of bryeres : **E**ven so every good tree /
bryngeth forth good frute . But a corrupte tree / bringeth for=
the evyll frute . A good tree cannot bringe forth badde frute :
ner yet a badde tree can bringe forth the good frute . **E**very tree /
that bringeth not forth good frute / shalbe hewen downe / and
cast in to the fyre . **W**herfore by there frutes ye shall knowe
them . **N**ott all they that saye vnto me / master / master / shall
entre in to the kyngdom of heven : **B**ut he that fulfilleth
my fathers wyll whych is in heven . **M**any wyll saye to
me in that daye / master / master / have we not in thy name
propheseyd : and yn thy name have we nott cast out devylls :
and in thy name have we nott done many myracles :
¶ **A**nd then wyll I knowlegge vnto them / that I never kne=
we them . **D**eparte from me / ye workers of iniquite .

The Gospell of

* The same.

Here Christe requirith faith/for where as re faith is not there is not the commaundment fulfilled: Ro. iiij. And all goode workes after overwarde appierance with ovr faith ar syn: contrarie wylse where faith is/there must the veary goode workes folowe. Christe callith here/doige: too doo with a pure herte. Actu. xv. And souche goodnes stōdith fast agaiſte all windes / that is too safe agaynſte al the powre of hel/for hit is bilt on the rocke Christe / thoozowe faith.

* In witnes. Moses callith the lawe a wytnes vnto the people. deut. xxxi. for the lawe aculith vs/ is a restunonie agaynſt oure ſyn. lyke wyse here/ yf the prestes bare recorde that Christe hadde clenſyd this leper/ yet belevyd not/ the testified they agaiſt them selves.

* wilt

* Faithe knoweth uor z erusteth i the fauour and goodnes of god

Whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and dothe the same/ I will lycen him vnto a wise man/ whych bilt his housse on a rocke: and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fluddys cam/ and the wynddy blew / and bett vppon that same housse / and it was not over throuen because it was grounded on the rocke. And whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and doth not the same/ shalbe lycened vnto a folye man/ whych bilt his housse upon the sonde / and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fluddys cam/ and the wynddy blew / and bett vppon that house/ and it was over throwe/ and great was the fall of it.

And it cam to passe / that when Jesus had ended these sayings/ the people were astonied at his doctryne. For he taught them as one havyng power/ and nott as the scribes/ Mar. i. Lu. iii.

The viij. Chapter.



When Jesus was come downe from the mountayne / moche people followed him. And lo/ there cam a lepre / and worshaped him saynge: master / if thou wilt/ thou canst make me clene. He putt forth his hand and rewded him saynge: I will/ be clene/ and imediatly his leprosy was clesed. And Jesus said vnto him. Set thou tell no man/ but go and shewe thy self to the preste and offer the gyfte/ that moſes comaunded to be offered * in witnes to them. When Jesus was entred into capernaum/ there cam vnto him a certayne Centurion/ besedhyng him/ and saynge: master/ my seruaunt lyeth sicke att home of the palsye/ and is greuously payned. And Jesus seyde vnto him: I will come and cure him. The Centurion answered and sayde: Syr/ I am not worthi/ that thou shuldest come vnder the roſe of my housse/ but speake the worde only/ and my seruaunt shalbe healed. For y also my selfe am a man vnder power/ and haue seruede vnder me/ and y sayeto one/ go/ and he goeth: and to an othere/

Mar. i.
Luc. v.

come/and he cometh:and to myseruaunt/do this/and he doo
th hit. When Iesus herdet these sayngs: He marueyled / and
said to them that folowed him: Verely I sey vnto you/I have
nott foude so great sayth: no/not i ysraell. I say there fore vnto
you / that many shal come from the east and weest / and shall
rest with Abraham/ Isaac / and Jacob / in the kyngedome of
heven: and the child: e of the kyngedome shalbe cast out into the
vtmoost dertines / there shalbe wepige and gnasshing of tethe.
Then Iesus sayd vnto the Centurion/ go thi waye / and as
then hast beloued so be it vnto the. And his seruaunt was hea-
led that same honre.

Mar. i
Luc. iij
¶ And Iesus went into peters houffe/and sawe his wyues
mother lyinge sicke of a fevre / and he touched her hande/ and
the fevre leest her: and she arose/ and ministred vnto them.

¶ When the even was come they brought vnto him many
that were possessed with devylls/ and he cast out the spirites
with a worde/ and healed all that were sicke/ to fulfill that wh-
ich was spoken by Esay the prophet sainge: he toke on him
esay: iij
luc. ij
oure infirmytes/ and bare oure sicknesses.

¶ When Iesus sawe moche people about him/ he commaun-
ded to go over the water. And there cam a scribe and sayd vnto
him: master / I woll folowe the whither summever thou
goest. And Iesus said vnto him: the foxes have holes/ and the
briddes of the aier have nestes/ but the sonne of the man hath
not where on to leye hys heed/ Anothre that was one of hys
disciples seyde vnto him: master suffre me fyrst / to go and
*buryc my fater. But Iesus said vnto him: folowe me / and
let the deed buryc their deed.

Mar.
iij
Luc. viij
¶ And he entred i to a shyppe/ and his disciples folowed him/
And lo there arose a greate storme in the see/ in somoche / that
the shyppe was hyd with waves/ and he was a slepe. And
his disciples cam vnto him/ and awocke him/ sayinge: ma-
ster/ save vs/ we perishe. And he said vnto them: why are ye
fearfull/ o ye endewed with lytel faith? Then he arose / and
rebuked the wyndes and the see / and there folowed a greate
calme. And men marueyled and said: what man is this/ that
bothe wyndes and see obey him?

¶ Centurion.
Is a captayne of an
E. me/ whom I cal
som tyme a ceturi-
on/ but for the moost
parte an vnder cap-
tayne

* burie
Some pretend good
de werke because
they wolde not folo
we Christus 2 bele-
ve: but Christus sig-
nifieth/ that such
workes are deed and
loost.

The Gospell of

And whē he was come to the other syde / into the cōtre of ^{mar. vi.} the gregesens / there met him two possessed of devylls / whych ^{Lu. vii.} cam out of the graves / and were out of measure ferece / so that no man myght go by that waye. And lo they cryed out sayng: O iesu the sonne of god / what have we to do with the: art thou come hyther to tormēt vs before the tyme be come: There was a good waye of from them a greate heerd of swyne feedinge. Then the devylls besought him sayng: if thou cast vs out / suffre vs to go oure waye into the heerd of swyne. And he said vnto them: go youre wayes. Then went they out / and departed into heerd of swyne. And lo / all the heerd of swyne was caryed with violēce hedlinge ito the see / 7 perished in the water. Thē the heerd mē / fled 7 wēt there ways ito the cite / 7 tolde every thinge / and what had fortunēd vnto thē that were possessed of the devylls. And lo / all the cite cā out / and met Iesus. And whē they sawe him they besought him / to departe out of there costis.

The ix. Chapter.



This cite was
capernaum.

And he entred into the shippe: ^{Mat. ij} and passed over and cam in to his awne cite. And ^{Luc. v} lo / they brought vnto him a man sicke of the palsey / lyinge in his bed. And when Iesus sawe there faith / he said to the secke of the palsey: sonne be of good cheere / thy synnes are for: even the. And lo certeyne of the scribes said in them selves / he blasphemeth. And whē Iesus sawe there thoughts / he sayd: wherfore thinke ye evyll in youre hertis: Whether ys esyer to saye / thi synnes ar for: even the / or to saye: a ryse and walke: That ye maye knowe / that the sonne of man hath the power to for: eve synes in erth / thē said he vnto the sicke of the palsey: arise / take vppe thi bed / and go home to thynne houffe. And he arose and departed to his houffe. The people that sawe hit / marveyled and glorified god / which had geven suche power to men.

Mat. ij
Luc. v ¶ And as Iesus passed forthe from thence he sawe
a man sitt at the receyve of custunie named Ma-
thew / and said to him : folowe me. And he arose
z folowed him. And hit cā to passe / that iesus satt
at meate i his housse. And lo / many publicās and
synners / cam and satt downe also with Iesus / and
his disciples. When the pharyses had perceaved
that / they said vnto his disciples : why eateth youre
master with publicans and synners? When Iesus
herd hat / he said vnto them : the whole neade nott
the vyficiou / butt they that are sicke. Go and lerne /
Mat. ij
Luc. v what that meaneth / I haue pleasure in mercy / and
nott in offeryngc. For I am nott come to call the
rightewes / but synners to repentauce.

Mat. ij
Luc. v ¶ Then cam the disciples of Ihon to him / sayinge :
why do we and the pharises faste ofte / but thidisc-
ciples faste nott? And Iesus sayde vnto them : can
the weddyngc chylren S morne as longe as the
brydegrome ys with them? The tyme will cū / when
the brydegrome shal be taken from them / and then
shall they faste. No man * pецyth an olde garment
with a pece of newe cloth. For thē taketh he a wa-
ye the pece ageyne from the garment / and the rent
is made worssse. Nether do men putt newe wyne /
into olde vessell : for thē the vessell breake / and the
wyne rūneth out / and the vessell perishe. But they
powre newe wyne in to newe vessell / and so are
both saved togyther.

Mat. v
Luc. viij ¶ Whyll the thus spake vnto them / lo / there cam a
ccertayne ruler / and worshipped him sayinge :
my doughter ys deed all reddy / but come / and ley
thy hand on her / and she shall live. And Iesus aro-
se z folowed him / with his disciples. and beholde / a
womā which was diseased with an yssue of blood.
xij. yeres / cam behynde him and touched the hem
of his vesture. For she said in her sylfe. If y ma :

* **S**ome That is too suff-
re payne. There is paynetij
manner awayes. come waye
of a mannes awne choysc ad
electio / as is the mok rules /
and as baals presty pūckyd
thē selves. iij. regū. xvij. suchē
paine doth al the worlde / the
pharisaies / ye z Ihonēs disci-
ples esteim greate : but god
despiseth hit. An other wa-
es is there payne / to deuyd
of god with oure oure elec-
ctio as shame / rebuke / wō /
ge / deeth. suchē too suffre pas-
iently and with good will / is
the righte crosse and pleaserth
god well. So Christy disci-
ples faste nott / but are mercy
at the mariage / whyle the
bryde grme is yert with thē /
ad defendeth them / ye z god
had yett ordeyned no troubl-
le for them / they sayne them
sylfe no paine / for itt pleaserth
not god / they must faste af-
ter Christy deeth z suffre pay-
ne of godd? hand and ordeyn-
naūce. So nowe wharsoever
a man taketh on hym by hya
awne eleccio / that is rep: o /
ved / ye z where Christ she-
weth hym sylfe frendly as a
bryde grome / there muste
nedes be ameryhetre.
S Pецyth. with these wo-
ro? Christ dy: veth them frō
hym as them which vnder?

The gospell of

stode not his lernynge/as concernyng the libertie of his disciples/and sayth: No man menedith an olde garnēt with newe clothe/for the olde holdith not the stiche/as who saith suche spirituall newe lernynge cannot be cōprehēdyd with olde fleshy hert. p̄ache to fleshy people and they were worse/as we se when spirituall liberētie is patched/the fleshe drawith hit vnto carnall luste.

ye touche but evē hys vesture only y^eshalbe safe. Jesus turned him aboute/ and behelde her/sayinge: daughter be of good cōferte/thy faith hath made the safe. And she was made whole even that same houre.

¶ And when iesus cam into the rulers housse / and sawe the minstrells/and the people wondryng/he sayd vnto them: gett you hence/for the mayde ys nōtt deed/but slepeth. And they leugh him to scorne. As soone as the people were putt forth a dore/he went in and toke her by the hōde / and the mayde arose. And this was noysed throughe out all that lōde.

¶ And as iesus departed thence/two blynde mē folowed him cryyng / and sayng: O thou sonne of dauid/have mercy on vs. And whē he was come in to the housse/the blynde cam to him. And iesus said vnto them beleve ye that y am able to do thys ⁊ they said vnto him ye master. Then touchēd he there eyes sayng: accordinge to youre faith be hit vnto you. And there eyes wer opened. And he charged them/sayng: se that no man knowe of it. But they as sonne as they wer departed/spred a broade his name throughe out all that lōde.

¶ As they went out/beholde / they brought to him a dōm mā possessyd of a devyll. And as soone as the devyll was cast out/the dōm spake. And the people marvylled/ sayng: it never so apiered in israhel. But the pharyses said: he casteth out devylls/be the power of the chiefe devyll. Luc. x.

¶ And Jesus went about all the citis and townes/teachynge in there synagoggs/and preachynge the gospell of the kyngdō. And healyng all māner syctnes and disease amonge the people. But whē he sawe the people/he had pittē on thē/ be cause they were pyned awaye/and scattred abroad even as shepe/havyng no shepherde. Then said he to his disciples: the harvest ys greate/but the labourers ar fewe. Wherefore praye the harvest lord/to send forth labourers in to his herveest.

* The herveest are the people redy to receyve the evāgelio/ and the labourers are the true preachers.



The x Chapter.

And he called his xij. discyples vnto him/ and gave them power agaynst vnclē Mar. vi.

ne spyrites/ to cast them out/ and to heale all manner of sicknesses / and all manner of diseases.

Zu. vi. ¶ The names of the xij. apostles are these. The first Simon which is called peter; and Andrewe his brother. James the sonne of Zebede/ and Iho his brother. Phillippe and Bartlemewe. Thomas and Mathew the publican. James the sonne of alphe and Lebbeus/ otherwise called Thaddeus. Simon of chane/ and Judas iscarioth/ which also betrayed him.

Zu. ix. ¶ These xij. sent Iesus/ and commaunded them sayinge. Go nott in to the wayes that leade to the gentyls / and in to the cites of the sameritans entre ye nott: But go rather vnto the loost shepe of the housse of israhel. Go and preache saynge: howe the kyngdom of heven ys att honde. Heale the sicke/ cleanse the lypers/ reyse the deed/ cast out the devylls. Frely ye have receaved/ freely geve ageyne. Posses nott golde/ nor sylver/ nether brasse in youre gerdles/ nor yet seryppe toward your iorney. Nether two coats/ nether shues / nor yet a rodde: For the workman tye worthy to have hys meate. In to what summerver cite / or toun ye shall come / inquire who is worthy in it / and there abyde tyll ye go from thence.

Zuc. x. ¶ And whē ye come in to a housse grete the same. And yf the housse be worthy/ your peace shall come vppō the same. But if it be nott worthy/ your peace shall returre to you agayne. And whosoever shall nott receave you/ nor wyll heare your preachinge/ when ye departe out of that housse/ or that cite/ shake of the * duste of youre fete. Truly y saye vnto you / hit shalbe easyer for the londe of zodoma/ and gommorra / in the daye of iudgement/ them for that cite.

¶ Lo/ y sende you forth/ as shepe a monge wolves. Be ye therefore wyse as serpentys / and innocent as doves. Be ware of mē/ for they shall delyvre you vppe to the counsaills / and shall schourge you in there synagoggs. And ye shalbe brought to the heed rulers and kyngs for my sake/ in witnes to them and to the gentyls.

¶ But when they put you vp take no thought / howe / or what ye shall speake/ for it shalbe geuyn you even in that same houre/ what ye shall saye. For it is nott ye that speake / but the

beyonde the see cō
menly they have a
well brassen moneye
as of golde & sylver.

* Duste
That is/ se that ye
take noo thinge of
thē/ in so moche th
at ye shake of the
very duste from yo
ure shues/ that th
ey maie knowe ho
we ye foght nor yo
uc a wne proffit:
but there helth

The Gospell. of

spirite of youre father whych speaketh in you. The brother shall betraye the brother to deethe/and the father the sonne. And the chyl dren shall aryse ageynst there fathers / and mothers/and shall putt them to deeth/and ye shalbe hated off all men/for my name. But who so ever shall contynue unto the ende/shalbe saved.

¶ When they persecute you in wone cite / flye in to another.

* fynnshe.
That ys / ye shall
nott haue coverted
or preached.

I tell you for a treuth/ye shall nott * fynnshe all the cites of ^{Joā. vii.} Israhel/tyll the sonne of man be come. The disciple ys nott above his master: Nor yet the servannt above his lorde. It is ynough for the disciple to be as hys master ys / and that the servannt be as his lorde ys. Yf they have called the lorde off the housse beelze bub: howe moche more shall they call them of his housse holde so? feare them nott there fore.

¶ There is no thinge so close/that shall nott be opened / and no thinge so hid/that shall nott be knowne.

That ys to sey op/ enly / where every mā maye here.

¶ What I tell you i derefnies/that speake ye i lyght. and what ye heare in the eare that preache ye on the housse toppes.

¶ And feare ye nott them which kyll the body / and be nott able to kyll the soule. But rather feare him / which is able to destroye bothe soule and body in hell. Are not two sparowes solde for a farthinge? And none of them dothe lyght on the grounde/with out youre father. And nowe are all the heere of youre heed numbred. feare ye not therefore. ye are of more value/then many sparowes.

¶ Who so ever therfore knowlegeth me before men/him wyll ^{mar. viij.} ^{Zuce. ii.}

I knowlegge before my father in heve. But who so ever shall denye me before men/him will I also denye before my father which ys in heaven.

¶ Think nott/that y am come to sende peace in to the erth. ^{Luc. xij}

I am nott to send peace / but a swearde. For y am come to sett a man att varyance ageynst his father / and the doughter ageynst her mother / and the doughterelawe ageinst her motherelawe: And a mannes foes shalbe / they of his owne houssholde.

¶ He that lovith his father/or mother more then me / ys nott worthy of me. And he that loveth his soñe/or donoghter mo- ^{Zu. xiiij}

re then me/is nott mete for me. And he that taketh nott hys
crosse and soloweth me/is nott mete for me. He that syndeih
hys lyfe/shall lose it: and he that losith his lyfe for my sake/
shall synde it.

Mar. ix
Zuc. x ¶ He that receavith you / receavith me: and he that recea=
vith me/receavith him that sent me. He that receavith a pro=
phet * in the name of a prophet/shall receive a prophet's re=
warde. And he that receavith a righteous mā in the name of a
ryghteous mā/shall receive the reward of a righteous mā.
And whosoever shall gene vnto won of these lytle wōnes to/
drinke a cuppe of colde water only/in the name of a disci=
ple: I tell you of a trueth/he shall nott lose hys reward.

* In the name of a
prophet/a right wo=
rs man/or a discip=
le. that ys to sey/in
that he perrepyneh
to god & to Christ.

* water. Compare
dede to dede/so ys
one greater then a/
nother: but cōpare
them to god/so are
they all lyke/ad one
as good as another.
even as the spyrice
movyth a mā / & ry
me & occasiō gevyth
shurted & offeded
thorow ourte all the
newe restamēt berō
keneth to decaye &
faule in the fayth.
for mā whē thei sa=
we that Christ w/
as but a carpentars=
sōc as thei suppo=
sed / & he hym selfe
also a carpeter / & his
modet / & kyne of so
lowe degre. moreo=
ver when they sa=
we him put to so v/
le a deeth / sell cleue
frō the faith / & cou=
lde not beleve.

The xi. Chapter.

Zuc. viij



**And it cam to passe when Je=
sus had ended his preceptz vnto his disciples/he**

departed thēce/to preache and teache i there cites.
¶ When Jhon beinge in preson herde the workz of christ / he
sent two of his disciples and sayde vnto him. Arte thou he
that shall come: or shall we loke for another. Jesus answered
and sayde vnto them. Go and shewe Jhon what ye have he=
de and sene. The blynde / the halt go / the lypers ar clenfed:
The deaf heare / the deed are reysed vp ageinc / and the Gospell
is preached to the povre. And happy is he that is noot
hurte by me.

Esa. lxi

¶ Even as they departed / Jesus began to speake vnto the
people of Jhon. What went ye for to se in the wyldernes:
wet ye out to se a rede waveringe with the wynder: oder what
went ye out for to se: went ye to se a man clothed in softe ray=
ment: Beholde / they that weare softe clothynge are in kyngz
houses. But what wet ye out for to se: wet ye out to se / a pro=
phet: Ye I saye vnto you / and more thē a prophet. For this is
he of whom it is wryttē. Beholde / I sēde my messenger before
thy face which shall prepaire thy waye before the.

Mal.
iiij.

¶ Verely y saye vnto you / amōge the chyl dren of women aro=
sc there nott a gretter then Jhon baptist. Not withston=
=

The Gospell of

Blesse.
Charis Thulste.

* Violence
when the cōsciēces
perceave the gospell
they thruste in no
thyng can let them

dinge he that ys Blesse in the kyngdom of heven/ys gretter
then he. From the tyme of Jhō baprist hitherto /the kyngdo-
me of heven suffreth * violence/and they that make violence
pulleth it to them. For all the prophety/and the lawe pro-
phesyed vnto the tyme of Jhon. Also yf ye wyll receave it/
thys ys helyas / which schulde come. He that hathe eares to
heare whith all/lett him heare.

But wheare vnto shall I lyken this generacino? it ys ly-
ke vnto chylde/which syt i the markett/ & call vnto there selo-
wes/ & saye: we have pyped vnto you/ & ye have nott daūsed/ we
have morned vnto you/ and ye have nott sorowed. For Jhon
cā/ nether eatyng nor drynkynge / & they saye/ he hath the de-
vyll. The soñe of mā cā eatyng and drynkynge/ and they saye/
be holde a glutton/ and a drynker of wyne/ and a frende vnto
publicans / and synners. And wysdonic ys iustified of her
chylde.

The begā he to vpbraid the cites/ i the whiche mooste of hys
myrales wer done/ be cause they dyd nott repēt. Wo be to the
chorasi. Wo be to the bezayda/ for yf the myrales which we-
re shewed i you/ had bene done i tyre and in sydō: they wolde
have repēted lōge agone i sacke cloth/ and i asshes. Neverthe-
lesse y saye vnto you/ it shal be casyer for tyre & sydō/ at the daye
of iudgemēt/ then for you. And thou capernaū/ which arte lyst
vppe vnto heven/ shalt be thrust doune to hell. For yf the my-
rales which have bene done in the/ had bene shewed in zōdō/
they had remayned to thys daye: Neverthelesse I say vnto
you/ that it shal be casyer for zōdom in the daye of iudgemēt/
then for the. Then Iesus answered and sayde. I prayse the
father lorde of heven and erth / be cause thou hast hyd the case
thingz from the wyse and prudent/ and hast opened them vnto
babes / even so father/ for so it pleased the. All thyngz are
geven vnto me of my father/ And no man knoweth the sonne/
but the father nether knoweth eny mā the father / save the soñe/
and he to whom the sonne wyll open him.

Come vnto me all ye that labour/ and are lade/ and I wyll
ease yon. Take my yooke on you/ and lerne of me / for y am mee-
fe/ and lowly in herte: and ye shall synde ease vnto cure sou-

To vpbraid is to
cast a man in the
tethe.

Luc. x.

Math.
xviij.
Mar.
ix.
Dala.
iii.
Luc. vij

les for *my yooke ys easy/and my burthen ys lyght.

The xii. Chapter.

*Dy yoke.
The crosse is an e/
asy thinge too them
that perceave the
gospell.

Zuc. vi.
l. Regū.
xxi.



At that tyme: i went Iesus on

the sabot daye thoro we the corne / and his disci-
ples wer anhungred / and began to plucke the ea-
res of corne/and to eate. When the farises had se-
ne that / they sayde vnto him: Beholde thy disciples do that
which ys not lawfull to do a pon the sabot daye. He sayde vn-
to them: Have ye nott rede what dauid dyd / when he was
anhungred/and they also which were with him? Howe he en-
tered into the housse of god/and ate the halowcd loaves/ which
were nott lawfull for him to eate/nether for them which we-
re with him/ Butt only for the preestes. Or have ye nott red-
de in the lawe/howe that the preestes in the temple breake the
sabat daye/ and yet are blamlesse? But I saye vnto you / that
here is wō greater then the temple. Wherfore yf ye had wist/
what thys sayinge meaneth. Frequyre mercy / and nott sa-
cryfyce/ye wolde never have condempned innocent. For the
sonne of man ys lord euen of the Sabot daye.

Esc. vi.

mar. iij.

¶ And he departed thence/and wentt in to there synagogge/
and beholde/there was a mā / which had his hand dried vp
And they axed him sayinge : ys hit lawfull to heale vpon
the saboth daye? he canse they myght accuse him. And he
sayde vnto them: which ys he amonge you/ yf he had a shepe
fallen in to a pyt on the sabot daye/that wolde nott take him
and lyfte him our? And howe moche ys a man better then a
shepe? Wherfore yt ys lesfull to do a good dede on the sabot
daye. Then sayde he to the man: streche forth the thy bonde / and
he streached forth/ and it was agayne made euen as whole
as the other.

¶ Then the farises went forth / and toke counseill agenste
him/howe they myght dystroye him. Whē Iesus knewe that
he departed thence / and moche people felowede him / and he

¶

¶ Sabbath.
The vnderstandin/
ge of all cōmand/
mēt skōde so great/
ly i love/that the ve-
ry cōmandmēt of
god binde not whe-
re love and neade res-
quyre.

The gospel of

healed the all. and charged the that/they shulde not make him known/to fulfill that which was spoke by Esay the prophet/^{Esaiē. rliij.} which sayeth: Beholde my sonne/whō I haue chosen/my derlyng/in whom my soule hath had delite. I wyll put my spirite on him/ and he shall shewe iudgement to the gentyls. He shall not stryve/he shall not crye/nether shall eny man heare hys voyce in the street/a brosed rede / shall he not breake/ & flete that begynneth to burne he shall not quēche/tyll he sende forth iudgement vnto victory / and in hys name shall the gentyls truste.

¶ The was brought to hym/won possessed with a devyll which was both blynde and doim / and he healed him/in somoch that he which was blynd and doim / both spake & sawe. And all the people were amased/and sayde: Ys not this the sōne of david: When the pharises herde that/they sayde: he dryveth the devyls no nother wise oute/but by the helppē off belsebub the chefe of the devylls.

Mat. iiij.

¶ But Iesus knewe therc thought/and sayde to the. Every kyngdō devyded with in it sylfe shalbe * desolate. Nether shall eny cite or housholde devyded ayēst it sylfe/cōrynue. So yf sathan cast out sathan/then ys he devyded ayenst him sylfe. Howe shall the hys kyngdō endure: Also if y by the helppē of belsebub cast out devyls : by whose helppē do youre chyldre cast them out: therfore they shalbe youre iudges: But if I cast out the devyls by the spirite of god: them is the kyngdom of god come on you:

Luce. xi.

* Desolate.

That ys wasted/destroyed/ & brought to nought.

¶ Hoost.

Syne agaynste the holy goost/ys despytyng of the gospell and hys working. where that by death/ is no remedy of syn. for it syghyeth agaynste sayth/ which ys the foryevnes of syn. yf that be put a waye/sayth maye entre yn/and all synnes departe.

* where Mathew sayeth here nether

¶ Other howe ca a mā entre in to a myghty mannes housse/ and vyolently take a waye his goodds/excepte he first bynde the stronge mā/ and then spoyle his housse: He that is not with me/is ayenste me: And he that gaddreth not with me/scattreth abroade. Wherfore I saye vnto you/all māer of syn and blasphemy shalbe foryeven vnto men/but the blasphemy ayēst the holy goost/shall not be foryeven vnto men. And whosoever speaketh a worde ayenste the sōne of mā / it shalbe foryeven him: but whosoever speaketh ayenste the holy goost/ it shall not be foryeven him: no/nether in thys worlde / nether in the worlde to come.

Mat. iij.

Luce. xij.

Other make the tree good / and his frute good also / or elff
make the tree evyll / ⁊ hys frute evyll also. For the tree is kno-
we by hys frute. O generaciō of vipers / howe can ye saye we=
Luc. vi. le / when ye youre selves ar evyll: for of the aboundaunce of the
herte the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasu-
re of hys herte / bryngeth forth gooderthyngs. and an evyll mā
out of his evyll treasure bryngeth forth evyll thynges. But I
saye vnto you / that of every ydyll worde / that men shall have
spoke / they shall geve acōpts at the daye of iudgemēt. For by
thy wordes thou shalt be instyfyed: and by thy wordes thou
shalt be condempned.

Mar. viij. The answeryd certaynge of the scryby ⁊ of the pharises say-
viiij. inge: Master / we wolde sayne se a sygne of the. He answered
Luc. xi. the saynge. the evyll and adnourous generaciō seeketh a syg-
ne / but there shall no sygne be geve vnto them / but the sygne
of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was iij dayes / ⁊ iij ny-
ghtes / i the whaallf belly: so shall the soñe of mā be iij dayes
and iij nyghtes i the herte of the erth. The mie of ninivyte shall
Jone. i. ryse at the daye of iudgment / with thys nacion / and cōdēpne
them: For they repented att the preachinge of Jonas. And be-
holde a greater then Jonas ys here. The queene of the south
shall ryse at the daye of iudgmēt with this generacion / and
iiij. reg. x shall condēpne them: for she cam from the vtmoste partyes
of the worlde / to heare the wysdom of Solomon. And behol-
de here ys a greater then Solomon.

When the vnclene sprite is gone out of a man / he walketh
throughoute drey places / sekyngge reest / and fyndeth none.
Then he sayth: I wyll retorne ageyne into my housse / from
whence I ca out. And when he is come / he fyndeth the ho-
usse empte / and swept / and garnysshed. Then he goeth his
waye / and taketh. viij. spiritf worffe the him sylfe / and so enter
they in and dwell there. And the ende of that mā is worffe the
the begynnyng. Even so shall it be to thys srowerd nacion.

Whyll he yet talked vnto the people: beholde / hys mother
and hys brethre stode with out the doores / desyryngge to speake
Mar. iij. with him. Then won sayde vnto him: beholde thy mother
Lu. viij. and thy brethre stode with out / desyryngge to speake with the

in the worlde to co-
me. Marke sayth:
he is in daunger off
eternall dānacion.

*A viper ys after
the māer of an ad-
der. and ys a worme
most full of poyson.

Here may ye se th
at wordes ⁊ dedes
declare out wardly
what amā ys with
yn / and are witness
es with hym / or ag
eynst hym / but ne-
ther make him go-
od nor bad / as the
frute declarerth wh
at the tree ys / but
maketh yt nether
good nor bad.

The gospell.

He answered and seide to hym that tolde hym: Who ys my mother/or who are my bretheren: And he stretched forth his honde over his disciples/and sayde: Beholde my mother and my brethren. For whosoever fulfilleth my fathers wyll/whiche ys in heven/he ys my brother/my suster/and my mother.

The xiiij. Chapter.

The same daye wentt Iesus mar. iij.
Luc. viij.

Out of the housse/and sat by the see syde / and moche people resorted vnto him/so gretly that he wēt and sat in a shyppe / and all the people stode on the shore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitudys / sayyng: beholde / the sower went forth to sowe / and as he sowwed/some fell by the wayes syde /z the sowlls cā / and deved vnto redit vppe. Some fell apon stony grounde where it had nort moche erth/and a non it spronge vppe/be cause it had no depth of erth: and when the sun was vppe / hit cauth heet / and for lake of rotyng wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thornes / and the thornes arose / and chooked it. Parte fell in goode grounde / and broght forth good frute: some an hundred fold/some fyfty fold/some thyrty folde. Whosoever hath eares to heare/let him heare.

And hys disciples cam / and sayde to him: Why speakest thou to them in parables? he answered and saide vnto them: Hit is geven vnto you to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome of heven/ but to them it is nort geven. For whosom ever hath/to him shall hit be geven: and he shall have aboundance: mat. xxiij. But whosoever hath nort: from him shalbe takyn a waye evē that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitudys: For though they se/they se nort: and hearinge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfilled isa. vi. the prophesy of esay/which prophesi sayth: with youre eares ye shall heare/and shall not vnderstode/ and with youre eyes ye shall se/and shall not perceave. For this peoples hert ys

He that hath. where the worde of god is vnderstode / there hit multiplicth z makith the poeple better. where hit is not vnderstode / there hit deerecasth z makith the poeple worse.

wered grosse: And ther eares wer dull of hearynge/ and ther eyes have they closed / lest they shulde se with there eyes/ and heare with there eares/ and shulde vnderstonde with there hertt/ and shulde tourne/ that y myght heale them.

¶ But blessed ar youre eyes/ for they se/ and youre eares / for they heare. Verely I saye vnto you / that many prophetts and perfaicte men have desyred to se tho thingz which ye se/ and have not sene them: and to heare tho thingz which ye heare/ and have not herde then. Heare ye therefore the similitude of the sower. When a mā heareth the worde of the kyngdome/ and vnderstondeh it nott: there cometh the evyll mā/ and catcheth awaye that which was sowne in hys herte. And thys is he which was sowne by the waye syde. But he that was sowne in the stony grounde/ ys he/ which hearith the worde of god/ and anon with ioye receaveth it/ yet hath he no roott/ in him selffe/ and therefore he dureth but a season: for as soone as tribulacion or persecucion aryseth be cause of the worde/ by anby he fallith. He that was sowne amonge thornes/ ys he/ that hearith the worde of god / but the care of this worlde/ and the dissaytfulnes of ryches choke the worde / and so ys he made vnfruitfull. He which is sowne in the good grounde/ ys he/ that hearith the worde and vnderstondeh it/ which also berith frute / and brynge forth/ sum an hundred folde/ sum fyfty folde/ and sum thyrty folde.

¶ Another similitude put he forth / vnto them sayinge. The kyngdome of heven ys lyke vnto a man which sowed good seede in his felde. But whyll men slepte / there cam his soe/ and sowed tares amonge the wheate/ and wēt is waye. When the blade was spronge vp/ and had brought forth frute/ then apperyd the tares also. The servauntz cam to the houssholder/ and sayde vnto him. Syr sowedest not thou good seed in thy crosse/ from whence then hath it tares? He sayde to them / the envious man hath done this. Then the servauntz sayde vnto him: wylt thou then that we go and gedder it? and he sayde/ naye/ lest whyll ye go aboute to weede out the tares/ ye plucke vpe also with the wheate by the roott: let bothe growe to gyther tyll harvest cum/ and in tyme of harvest/ I wyll sa-

The seed ys sowen i the grounde & the grounde ys sowen with the worde of god.

Tares & cockle are weedes that growe amonge coine.

The Gospell of

*Mustarde seed.
 Therre is not so s^mple a thyng^e i the world^e/or more de^sspised/then the gos^ppell/z yett yr sayeth ad iustitieth th^e th^e ar beleve there on/ the lawe z the wo^rkes doeth it not.

Leven. beroke/ nerh the gosPELL al/ so: for yr chaungeth a man vnto a newe nature.

ye vnto my repers/gadther ye fyrst the tares / and bynde th^e in sheves to be brent: but gadther the wheete in to my barn^e.

¶ Another parable he putt forthe vnto them sayinge. The kyngedome of heven ys lyfe vnto a grayne of * mustard seede/ whych a man taketh and soweth in hys felde / whych ys the leest of all seedes. But when it is growne/ it is the greatest a= moⁿge yerbes/and is a tree: so that the bryddes of the aier co= me/and bylde in te braunches of it.

¶ Another similitude saide he to them. The kyngdom of heveⁿ ys lyke vnto **S**leven which a woman toke and hydde in iiⁱ peck^e of meele / tyll all was leveded.

¶ All these thyng^e spake iesus vnto the people by similitud^e / and with oute similitud^e spake he nothyng^e to them / to ful= fyll that which was spoken by the prophet sayinge : I wyll o^{pe}n my mouth in similitud^e / and wyll speake forth thyng^e whych have bene kepte secrete from the begynnyng^e off the worlde.

Mat.
13^{vii}.

¶ Then sent Iesus the people awaye/and cam to housse / and hys disciples ca^m vnto him/sayinge: declare vnto vs the simi= litude of the tares of the felde: Then answered he and sayde to them. Herhat soweth the good seed / ys the sonne of man/ the felde ys the worlde. The chyldren of the kyngedome are the good seed. The evyllmans chyldren are the tares. But the enemy which soweth it/ is the devyll. The harvest ys the ende of the worlde/ and the repers be the angell^s. For even as the tares are gaddred/and brent in the fyre: so shall it be in the ende of this worlde. The sonne of maⁿ shall sende forth his an= gell^s / z they shall gadther out of his kyngd^om allthyng^e that do hurte/and all them which do iniquite/and shall cast the in= to a furnes of fyre. There shalbe waylyng^e and gnasshyng^e of teth. Then shall the iuste men shyne as bryght as the sun in the kyngdom of there father. whosoever hath eares to heare/ leth im heare.

*Treasure hyd ys the gosPELL/ which geveth vs grace ad ryght wesnes with out oure deservyng therefore we fynde it ad make ioye and have a mery concie= nce/a thyng^e that no man caⁿ obteyne with wo^rkes.

¶ Agayne the kyngedome of heven is lyfe vnto * treasure hyd^e in the felde/the which a maⁿ founde and hydde it: and for ioy there of goeth z selleth all that he hath / and byeth that felde.

¶ Agayne/the kyngdom of heven ys lyfe vnto a marchaunt/

setyng after good pearles which whē he had founde one pre-
cious **¶** pearle / went and solde all that he had / & bought it /
¶ Ageyne / the kyngdom off heven is lyke vnto a nett cast in to
the see / that gaddreth of all kyndes of fysshes: the which whē it
is full / mē drawe to lōde / and sit and gadre the good into the
re vessels / and cast the bad awaye. So shall it be at the ende of
the worlde. The angels shall come and sever the bad from the
good / and shall cast them in to a furnes of fyre / there shall be
waylyng and gnasshyng of teth.

¶ Jesus sayde vnto them: have ye vnderstonde all these thyn-
ggs: they saide ye syr. Then sayde he vnto them: Therfore every
scribe which is conyng vnto the kyngdom of heve / is lyke an
housholder / which bryngeth forth / out of hys treasure / thyn-
ggs bothe * newe and olde.

¶ And hyt cam to passe whē Jesus had synnesshed these si-
militudis that he departed thence / and cam in to his awne cou-
ntr / and taught in there synagoggs / in so moche that they
were astunyed / and saide: whence cā all this wysdō and po-
wer vnto him: is not this the carpētere sonē: is not hys mo-
ther called mary: and hys brethren be called / James and Jo-
ses and Symon and Judas: and are not hys systers all here
with vs: whence hath he all these thyngs: And they wer-
hurte by him. Thē Jesus sayde vnto them: there is no prophet
with out honoure / save in hys awne countre / and amōge hys
awne kynne. And he dyd nōt many myraeles there for there
wntelefs safe.

¶ The pearle is
also the evāgelion.

* Olde / the lawe.
Newe / the gospell /
or evāgelion.

Mar.
vi.

The xiiiij. Chapter.

Mar.
vi.
Luc. iij.



¶ At that tyme Herode the te-
trarcha herde of the same of Jesu / and sayde vnto
hys servauntis: This ys Jhon baptist / he ys risen
ageyne frō deeth / and there fore hys power ys
so greate. For herode roke Jhon and bounde hym / and putt
hym in pryson for herodias sake / hys brother Phillipps wy-
ffe: For Jhon sayde vnto hym / hit ys nōt lawfull for the
to have her. And when he wolde have putt hym to deeth

Tetrarcha / ys he
that hath rule ov-
er the fourth parte
of a realme. Juy
with her pertena-
unce was thē de vi-
ded into iiij lordship-
pes.

The Gospell of

he feared the people/ be cause they counted him as a prophet. Lu. xviii.

¶ When herodys byrth daye was come the doughrer of herodys daunsyd before them/ and pleasyd herode. Wherfore he promysyd with an othe / that he wolde geve her what soeuer she wolde axe. And she beyng enformed off her mother before/ sayde yeve me here Jhō bapnysys heed in a platter. And the kynge sorowed: neverthelesse for his othes sake / & for there sakes which satt also at the table/ he comaunded hit to be geve her. And sent and behedded Jhon in the preson: and his heed was brought in a platter. and yeven to the damsell / and she brought hyt to her mother. And his disciples cam / and toke vpppe hys body/ and buryed hit: And went and tolde Jhesus.

¶ When Jhesus had herd that / he departed thence by shyppe into a desert place oute of the waye. And when the people had herde thereof / they solowde him a fore out of there cites. And Jhesus went forth and sawe moche people: and his herte dyde melte vppon thē/ and he healed of them those that were sicke. When even was cum/ his disciples cam to him sayinge. This ys a desert place/ and the daye is spent/ let the people departe that they maye go in to the townes/ and bey them vyttayllt.

But Jhesus sayde ynto them. They have no neade to go awaye: Geve ye them to eate. Then sayde they vnto him: we have here bur. v. loves / and two fysshes. He sayde / bryng them hydther to me. And he comaunded / the people to syt downe on the grasse/ and toke the. v. loves/ and the. ij. fysshes / and lokyd vpppe to heven/ and blessed/ and brake / and gave the loves to hys disciples/ and the disciples gave thē to the people. And they all ate / and wer suffysed. And they gadred vpppe of the gobbett? that remainned xij baskett? full. They that ate wer in nūbre aboute. v. M. men/ besydes wemen and and chyldrē.

¶ And streyght waye Jhesus made hys disciples entre in to a shippe/ and to go over be fore him/ whyll he sentt the people awaye. And as soone as he had sentt the people awaye / he went vp in to amountayne alone to praye. And when nyght was cum/ he was there hime sylfe alone. and the shyppe was in the myddof of the see / and was toost with waves / for hit was a cōtrarye wynde. * In the iij. warche of the nyght Je-

mar. vi.
Luce. ix.
Jhon. vi.

mar. vi.
Jhou. vi.

*wetehe.
The nyght in the olde tyme was devided into iij quarters/ and too every parte was gevyng iij houres.

Jo. vi.
Mar.
vi.
sus cam vnto them / walkynge on the see: and when hys disci-
ples sawe him walkynge on the see / they were amased / sayin-
ge: it is some spirite / and cryed out for feare. And streyght wa-
ye Jesus spake vnto them saynge: be of good cheare / it is y / be
nott a frayed.

¶ Peter answered / and saide: master / and thou be he / bidde me
come vnto the on the water. And he saide come. And whē Pe-
ter was come doune out of the shyppe / he walked on the wa-
ter / to go to Jesus. But when he sawe a myghtry wynde / he
was afrayed / And as he begā to synke / he cryed sayinge: ma-
ster save me. And inmedyarly Jesus stretched forth hys hon-
de / and caught him / and saide to him: O thou of lytell fayth:
wherefore dydest thou dout? And as soone as they were com-
me in to the shyppe / the wynde ceased. Then they that were
in the shyppe cam and worshypped him / sayinge: of a truth
thou arte the sonne of god. And when they were come over /
they went in to the londe of gynazareth. And when the mē off
that place had knowledge of him / they sent out in to all that
countre rounde about / and brought vn to him all that were
sicke / and besought him / that they myght touche the border
of hys vesture only. And as many as touched hytt / wer ma-
de safe.

The xv. Chapter.

Mar.
vii
¶ When cam to Jesus: scribes



and pharyses from Ierusalem / sayinge: why do thy
disciples transgresse the tradicions of the seniors?
for they wesse not there hondy / when they eate
breed. He answered / and sayde vnto them: why do ye also
transgresse the comaundment of god / thorowe youre tradici-
ons? for god comaūded / sayinge: honoure thy father and mo-
der / and he that speaketh evyll a yensf hys father or mother /
shall suffer deeth. But ye saye / every man shall saye to hys fa-
ther or mother: whatsoever thyng I offer / that same doth
* profytt the / and so shall he not honoure his father and mo-
ther. And thus have ye made / that the comaundment of god

Leui.
xxix

* Profytt. Marke
the levē off the phz
arises. God wolde
that the soñe shuld
honoure hys father
z mother with hys
remporall goodz / ad
the pharises for thz
ere temporall lucre
interpreted yr sayng:
god is thy father ad
thy mother / offer to
hym. So were the
pharises dishes ful
with robery z erro-
reion / z the povre fa-
thers and mothers
perishe for hunger
and neade.

The Gospell of

is without effecte/through youre tradicions. Ypocrytſ well prophesied of you/ say sayinge: This people draweth nye vnto me with there moutheſ/ & honoreth me with there lyppeſ/ yet there herte is ferre frō me: but i wayne they worſhippe me teachinge doctryne/ which is nothyng but mens preceppeſ. ¶ And he called the people vnto him/ and sayde to them: heare and vnderſtonde. That which goeth in to the moughth/ deſyleth not a man: but that which cōmeth out of the moughth/ deſyleth the man.

ſaie. xv.

Tradicions of men
muſte fayle at the
laſt: godſ word by
deth ever.

¶ Then cam hys diſcipleſ / and ſayde vnto him: perceaveſ thou/ howe that the pharyſeſ are offended hearinge thy ſayinge: He answered/ and ſayde: all planteſ which my hevenly father hath nott planted / ſhalbe plucked vppe by the rotes. Lett theſe alone/ they be the blynde ledderſ of the blynde. If the blynde leede the blynde/ bothe ſhall fall into the dyche.

¶ Theſe answered Peter and ſayd to him: declare vnto vs theſe parable. Then ſayde Jeſuſ: are ye yett with outen vnderſtandinge: perceave ye nott/ that whatſoever goeth in at the moughth/ deſcendeth doune in to the bely / and ys caſt out in to the draught: But thoſe thingſ which procede out of the moughth come from the herte/ and they dyffyle a man. For out of the herte come evyll thoughtſ / murder/ breakyng of wedlocke/ whordō/ theeſte/ falce witneſ beryng/ blaſphemy. Theſe are the thingſ which deſyle a man. But to eate with unweſſhen hondes/ deſyleth nott a man.

Lu. vi.

¶ And Jeſuſ went thence/ and departed into the coſtſ of tire and ſidon. And beholde a womā which was a cananyte cam out of the ſame coſtſ/ and cryed vnto him/ ſayinge: have mercy on me lordet he ſōne of dauid/ my doughter is pytiously verryed with a devyll. And he gave her never a worde to answer. Then cam to him hys diſcipleſ / and beſought him ſayinge: ſende her awaye / for ſhe ſoloeth vs cryinge. He answered/ and ſayde: I am nott ſent/ but vnto the looſt ſhepe of the houſſe of iſrahel. Then ſhe cam and worſhypped him/ ſayinge: maſter ſucker me: He answered and ſaide: it ys not good / to take the childreſ bred/ & to caſt it to whelpeſ. She answered and ſaide: it is truthe / nevertheleſſe the whelpeſ eate off the

Mar. vij.

crōmes/which fall from there masters table. Then Iesus answered and sayde vnto her. O woman greate is thy sayth / be hit to the/even as thou desyrest. And her doughter was made whole even at that same tyme.

¶ Then Iesus went awaye from thence / and cam nye vnto the see of galyle/and went vppe in to a mountayne/and sat doune there. And moche people cam vnto hym havynge with them/halt/blynde/dōm/maymed/ and other many: and cast them doune at Iesus fete. And he healed them /in so moche that the people wondred /to se the dōm speake /the maymed whole /and the halt to go /the blynde to se/ and gloryfyeed the god of israhel.

*2^{Bar.} vii. ¶ Iesus called his disciples to him and sayde: I have com-
passion on the people/be cause they have contynued with me nowe iij. dayes/and have nothynge to eate:and I wyll not let them departe fastinge lest they peryshe in the waye. And his disciples said vnto him: whēce shuld we get so moche breed in the wyldernes as shulde suffyse so greate a multitude?and Iesus saide vnto hē: howe many loaves have ye? and they seyde: seve and a feawe fysshes. And he commaunded the people to syt doune on the grounde. and toke the seve loaves/and the fysshes and gave thankes / and brake them/and gave to hys disciples/ and hys disciples gave thē to the people. And they all ate/and were suffysed. and they toke vppe of the brokē meate that was lefte vij. basketes full. They that ate were iij. M. men/ besyde wemen and chylren. And he sent awaye the people/and toke shyppe and cam in to the parties of magdala:

The xvi. Chapter.

When cam to him the pharises

2^{Bar.} viij.
Zuc. ix.



with the sadnces also /and dyd tēpte him /desy-
ynge that he wolde shewe thē some sygne frō he-
ven. He answered and saide vnto them: At even
ye saye/we shall have sayre wedder.and that be cause the skye
ys reed: 2i the mornige:ye saye/to daye shall be foule wedder/a
Zuc. xij. that because the skye is trōbelous and reed. O ye pocyryt/ye

6 4

The Gospell of

***Sygnes.**
The signes are chry-
stall woderfull de-
ades and miracles/
which were proph-
esied of before/that
they shulde be done
in Christes tyme.
Esaie xvi.

Peter the gre-
ke/sgnieth a stonne
i eglyshe. This co-
nfeßsio is the rocke.
Howe is simō bar-
iona/ or simō ionas
sōne/called Peter/
because of his cōfe-
ssio. who so ever the-
r his wyfe cōfesserth
of Christe/the same
is called Peter. no-
we is this cōfession
cōe eo all that are
true christen. The
ys every christē mā
z woma peter. Re-
de bede/aultē z hi-
cro/of the maner of
lowlinge z bynding
and note howe hie-
rō checketh the pr-
sumpsio of the pha-
rises i his tyme/w-
hich yet had nott so
mostrous iterpret-
acions as oure new
goddess have feyned
Rede erasmus an-
oracions. hēt was
noot for nought th-
at Christ hadd be-
ware of the leuen of
the pharises. noo th-

can discern the fassion of the skye: and can ye not discern the
*sygnes of the tymes: The frowerde naciō/and aduourous/
sekerth a sygne: there shall no not her sygne be geuen vn to thē/
but the sygne of the prophet Jonas. So leste he them and de-
parted.

¶ And when his disciples were come to the other syde of the
water/they had forgotten to take breed with them. The Je-
sus said vnto them: Take hede and beware of the leuen of the
pharises/and of the saduces. They thought a monge them
selues sayinge: we have brought no breed with vs. Whē Je-
sus vnderstode that he saide vnto them. O ye of lytell sayth/
why are youre myndes cūbred be cause ye have brought no
breed? So ye not yet perceave/nether remēber those v loves/
whē there were v. M. mē/z howe many basketts toke ye vp?
Nether the vii. loves/whē there were iij. M. and howe ma-
ny basketts toke ye vpper? why perceave ye not thē/ that y spa-
ke not vnto you of breed / whē I sayde/beware of the leuen of
the pharises and of the soduces: Then vnderstode they/howe
that he had nott them beware of the leuen of breed: butt off
the doctryne of the pharises/and of the saduces.

¶ Whē iesus cā into the coast of the cite which is called cesa-
rea philippi / he axed hys disciples sayinge : whom do men
saye that I the sonne of man am? They saide/some saye that
thou arte Ihon baptist/some helyas/some Jeremias/or wō
of the prophetz. Reseyde vnto them/butt whom saye ye that
I am? Symon peter answered/and sayde: Thou arte christ
the sōne of the leuyngē god. And Jesus answered z sayde to
him: happy arte thou simon the sōne of Jonas/for fleshe and
bloud have not opened vnto the that/but my fater which ys
in heven. And I saye also vnto the /that thou arte I Peter.
And upon thys roocke I wyll bylde my cōgregacion: and the
gates of hell shall not preveyle a geynst it. And I wyll yere
vnto the in the keyes of the kyngdom of heven /and what soe-
uer thou byndest vpon erth/yt shall be bounde in heven. and
what soeuer thou lowsest on erth/yt shall be lowsed in hevē.
¶ Then he charged his disciples/that they shulde tell no mā/
that he was Jesus christ. From that tyme forth/ Jesus begā

Mar.
vii.

Mar.
vii.

Luc. ix.
Mar.
vii.

to shewe vnto his disciples/howe that he must go vnto Jeru= ynge is so swete th/ sale/and suffer many thingz of the seniorz/and of the hyc pre= ar they make not so stes/and of the scribes/and must be filled/and ryse againe the wre with there tr/ thynde daye. Peter toke him a syde/and began to rebuke hym gelion/that ioyfull tidynges / ys nowe sayinge: master faver thy sylfe/this shall nott come vnto the. biterer then the ol/ Then turned he aboute / and sayde vnto peter: go after me sa= de la we / Christs tan/thou offendest me / because thou perceavest nott godly burchē is hevier th/ ryingz: but worldly thingz. en the yocke of mo/ ses/oure cōdiciō ad

¶ Jesus then sayde to hys disciples. If eny man wyll solowe en the yocke of mo/ melect him forsake him sylfe/ and take his crosse and solowe ses/oure cōdiciō ad me. For who soever wyll save hys lyfe / shall loose yt. And who estate ys ten tymes more greivous then soever shall loose hys lyfe for my sake / shall synde yt. Whatt was ever the iewes The pharises have so leveded Christs so he loose hys owne soule? Or els what shall a man geve to re= so leveded Christs deme hys soule agayne with all? For the sonie of man shall co= me in the glory of hys fater/with hys angels/and thē shall be rewarde every mā accordinge to hys * dedes. Verely I sa= ye vnto you/some there be a monge them that here stōde/wh/ ych shall nott taste of deeth/tyll they shall have sene the so= nne of man come in hys kyngdom/

The xviij. Chapter.

¶ Itt sounderly yn greke/away frō me sathan/ and are the same wordz which Chrille spake vnto the devyll when he wolde have had hi to fall doune & wor/ shippe hym. luc. iij

Mar. ix.
Luc. ix.



¶ After vi. dayes Jesus to=

ke Peter and James and Ihen hys brother/ and brought them vppe into an hyc meuntayne out of the waye/and was transfigured before them. and hys face dyd shyne as the sun/and hys clothes were as whyte as the light. And beholde there appiered vnto thē mo= ses and helyas talkinge with him. Then answered peter / and saide to Jesus: master here is good beinge for vs. If thou wy= lit/lect vs make here iij. tabernacles/ won for the/and won for mo= ses/ and won for helyas. Whyll he yett spake / beholde a bryght cloude shadowed them. and lo a voyce out of the clou= de sayde: This is my deare sonne/in whō I delite/heare him. And when the disciples herd that/they fell flatt on there fa= ces/and were sore a frayde. And Jesus cam and touchē thē/

* Dedes. For the dedz testify what a mā is inwarde/ the tree shall be presfed accordyngge too hys frute.

¶ Deeth. That is who soever beleve/ thō me shall nott se deeth. Jo. xij.

¶ iij

The Gospell. of

and sayde: aryse and be not o frayde. Thē lyfte they vppe the
re eyes/and sa we no man/ but Iesus only.

¶ And as they cam doune from the mountrayne / he charged
them sayinge/ se that ye shewe thys vysion to no man/ tyll the
sonne of man be rysen ageyne from deeth. And his disciples
ared of him/ sayinge: Why then saye the scribes/ that Helyas
muste fyrst come? Iesus answered/ and sayde vnto them: he-
lyas shall fyrst come/ and restore all thinge. And I saye vnto
you/ that helyas is come all reddy: And they knewe hym nott/
but have done vnto him whatsoeuer they lusted. In lyke wyse
shall also the soñe of mā suffre of them. Thē his disciples per-
ceaved/ that he spake vnto them of Iohn baptist.

¶ And when they wer come to ye people/ there cā to him a cer-
tayne man/ and kneled doune vnto him sayinge: master have
mercy on my sonne/ for he ys frantye/ and is sore vered. And
of terymes falleth in to the fyre/ and ofte in to the water/ and
y brought him to thy disciples/ and they coule not heale him.
Iesus answered and sayde. O generacion saythles/ and cro-
fed: howe longe shall I be with you? howe longe shall y suf-
fer you? bynge him hydder to me. And Iesus rebuked the de-
vyll/ and he cam out. And the chyld was healed eue that sa-
me houre.

¶ Then cam hys disciples secretly and sayde: why coule not
we cast him out Iesus saide vnto them/ be cause of youre vn-
beleue. For I saye verely vnto you/ yf ye had sayt he/ as a gra-
yne of mustrade seed/ ye shulde saye vnto thys mountrayne/ re-
meve hence to yonder place / and he shulde remeue: Neither
shulde eny thinge be vnpossible for you to do. But this kynde/
goeth not out but by prayer and fastinge.

Stronge feyth re-
quyret h fervent pr-
ayer/ & prayer requi-
yret fasting to su-
bdue the bodye. hat
lustes vnquyer nort
a mānes mynde.

¶ Whyll they passed the tyme in galile / Iesus saide vnto thē/
the sonne of man shall be betrayed in to the hondes of mē/ and
they shall kyll him/ and the thyrde daye he shall ryse ageyne.
And they sorowed greatly.

¶ When they were come to capernaum. They that were wō-
te to gaddre poll mony/ cam to Peter and saide: dorch youre
master paye tribut: he sayde/ ye. And when he was come in
to the housse/ Iesus spake fyrst to him/ sayinge: what thynkest

2^{Mar.} thou symon? of whom do the kyngs of the erthe take trybute/
 ir. or poll money? of thre chylde/ or of straungers? Peter sayde
 Lu. xi. vnto him/ of straungers. Then saide Iesus to hym agayne.
 The ar the chylde/ * fre. Nevertheless lest we schulde offende
 them/ go to the see and caste in thyne angyll/ and take the syf-
 fe that fyrst cometh vppe: and when thou hast opened his
 mouth/ thou shalt fynde a pece of xii. pence that take and paye
 ye for me and the.

* Fre. Though
 Christ were fre yet
 gave he trybute for
 his neyghburys sake.
 So ys a christe mā
 fre i all thyngs as p
 reynyng to his aw/
 ne parte/ yett paye
 th he trybute & sub
 mittech hym silke to
 all me/ to/ hya brot
 hers sake/ too serve
 hisa brother withall

The xviii. Chapter.

2^{Mar.} **I**n the same tyme the disciples
 ir. came to Iesus sayinge: who is the greatest in the
 Lu. ix. kyngdome of heve: Iesus called a chylde vnto him/
 and set him in the mydd of them and sayde: Ve-



rily I say vnto you/ excepte ye tourne/ and become as chil-
 dre/ ye canot entre in to the kyngdō of heve: whosoever there-
 fore: shall submyt hym sylf: as thys chylde/ he ys the grea-
 test in the kyngdom of heaven. And whosoever receaveth su-
 che a chylde in my name / receaveth me. But whosoever
 2^{Mar.} offende wone of these lytellons/ which beleve in me: it were
 ir. better for him / that a myllstone were hanged aboute hys
 Lu. xvij. necke/ and that he were drowned in the depth of the see. Wo
 be vnto the worlde be cause of evyll occasions. It is neces-
 sary that evyll occasions be geven/ nevertheless wo be to that
 man/ by whom evyll occasion cometh. Wherfore yf thy ho-
 nde/ or thy fote / geve the an occasion of evyll: cut him off/
 and cast him from the. Sit is better for the to entre in to ly-
 fe halt or maymed/ rather then thou schuldest haveinge .ij. ho-
 des or .ij. fete/ be caste in to everlastinge syre. And yf also thy
 ne eye offend the/ plucke him out and cast him from the. it is
 Lu. xv. beter for the / to entre in to lyfe with won eye/ then haveinge
 ij. eyes to be caste in to hell syre.

¶ Se that ye despise not won of these lityll wons. For I sa-
 ye vnto you/ that in heve there angels beholde the face of my
 father/ which is i heve. Ye and the soñe of mā is come to save
 that which is loste. Howe thynke ye. Yfa mā had an hōdred

The gospell of

shepe/and wō of them shulde go astrye/wyll he nott leve nynty and nyne in the moutrayns / and go and seke that wō which is gone astraye: yf hit happē that he fynde him/ verely I saye vnto you/he reioyseth more of that shepe/thē of the nynty and nyne/which went nott astraye. Even so hit is nott the wyll off youre father in heven/ that won off this litle wons shulde perishe.

¶ More over yf thy brother trespass ayenst the. Go and tell him his faut bitwene him and the alone. Yf he heare the/thou hast wone thy brother: butt if he heare the nott then take with the i. or. ii. that in the mouth of ii. or. iii. witnesse/ all sayings maye stonde. Yf he heare not them/tell hit vnto the cōgregacion. yf he heare nott the congregacion/take him as an hethen man and as a publican. Verely I saye vnto you whatsoeuer ye bynde on erth/shalbe bounde in heven. And what soeuer ye lose on erth/shalbe losed in heven.

Here all bynde and
lowse.

¶ Agayn I saye vnto you that if ij of you shall agre in erth in eny maner thinge what soeuer they shall desyre: hit shalbe geuen them of my fader which is in heven. For wher ij or iii are gaddred to gydder in my name/there am I in the mydd of off them.

¶ Then cam peter to him/and sayde: master / howe ofte shall my brother trespass ageynst me / and I shall foryve hym: shall I forgyve him vij. tymes? Iesus sayd vnto him: I saye not vnto the vij. tymes: but sevynty tymes sevynty tymes. There fore is the kyngdom of heven lykned vnto a certayne kyng/ which wolde take a count of his seruaunt/ and whē he had begun to recken/ won was brought vnto him/which ought him ten thousande talent: but when he had nought to paye/the lorde comaunded him to be solde/and his wyffe / and his children: and all that he had / and payment to be made. The seruaunt sell doun and besought him sayinge: Syr/ yeve me respyte/and I wyll paye hit every whyt. Then had the lorde pytte on the seruaunt/and lowsed him and forgaue him the dett.

¶ The same seruaunt went out and founde wone of his felowes/which ought him an hundred pence. And leyde hond

on hym/and toke hi by the throote/sayinge: paye that thou owest. And his felowe fell doune/and besought hym/sayinge: have pacience with me/and I wyll paye the all. and he wolde not/ but went and cast him in to preson/tyll he schulde paye the det. When his other felowes sawe what was done /they were very sory/and cā ⁊ tolde vnto there lorde all that had hapened. Thē the lorde called hym/and saide vnto hym. O euyllseruaunt/I forgave the all that det/be cause thou praydest me: Was it not mete also/that thou shuldest have hadde compassion no thy felowe/even as I had pytte on the? and his lorde was wrooth / and delyred hym to the Joylers /tyll he schulde pāye all that was due to hym. So lyke wyse shall youre hevenly father do vnto you/yf ye wyll not forgeve with youre hertt?/eachē won to his brether there trespasses.

The xix. Chapter.

Mar. x
Lu. xvi.



Ad hyt folowed when Iesus hadde synnysshede those sayings?/he gat hym from galile/and cā in to the coast? of iewry beyōde Jor- dā/and moche people folowed him/and he healyd them there.

Then cam vnto him the pharises to tempte hym/and saide to hym: Ys hit lawfull for a man to put a waye his wyfe for all māner of causes? He answered/and sayde vnto thē. Have ye not redde/ho we that he which made mā at the begynnynge/made them man and woman? and saide: for thys thinge/ shall a mā leve father and mother / and cleve vnto hys wyfe/ and they twayne shalbe won flesshe. Wherfore nowe are they not twayne/ but wō flesshe. Let not man there fore put a sūnder/that which god hath cuppled to gydder. Then sayde they to hym: why dyd moyses comaunde to geve vnto her a testimoniall of divorcsmēt/ and to put her a waye? He sayde vnto thē: moyses be cause of the * hardnes of youre hertt? suffred you to put awaye youre wyves: But from the begynnynge hit was not so. I saye therefore vnto you/whosoever putteth

*Hardnes. La wes pmitt ⁊ suffer many thyngs?/to a voyde a woulse iconvenience which god will iu/dge ⁊ punysshē.

B

The Gospell of

awaye his wyffe (excepte hit be for fornicacion) and mary eth another / breaketh wedlocke. And whosoever marieth her which is diuorced / doth comyt aduoury.

¶ The spafe his disciples to him: yf the matter be so betwene mā and wyffe / then ys it not good to mary. He saide vnto thē: all men cannot awaye with that sayinge: but they to whom it is geuē. there are chaste / which were so borne out of the mothers belly. And there are chaste / which be made chaste of mē. And there be chaste / which have made thē * selues chaste for the kyngdom of heuens sake. He thar cā take it lett hun take it.

¶ Then were brought to hym yonge chyl dren / that he shulde put his hondʒ on thē and praye. and his disciples rebuked thē. Jesus sayde vnto them: suffre the chyl dre / and forbid thē not to come to me / for vnto suche belongeth the kyngdō of heuen. And when he had put his hondʒ on thē / he departed thence.

¶ And beholde wō cā / and saide vnto him: good master / what good thige shall I do / that I maye have eternall lyfe? He sayde vnto him: why callest thou me good? there is none good but wō / and that is god. But ⁊ thou wilt entre in to lyfe / kepe the cōmaundmētʒ. He saide: Which? And Jesus saide: thou shalt not kyll. thou shalt not brake wedlocke. thou shalt not

fiele: thou shalt not bere false witnes. honoure thy father and mother. and thou shalt love thyne neghbour as thy sylfe: the yonge man sayde vnto hym: I have observed all these thingʒ from my yuth / what have y more to do: Jesus said vnto him: yf thou wylt be * perfecte / goo and sell that thou hast / and geue it to the poure / and thou shalt have treasure in heuē / and come and folowe me: When the yōge mā herde that sayinge / he went awaye mornynge. for he had greate possesseion.

¶ Jesus saide then vnto his disciples: Verely I saye vnto you a ryche man shall with difficulte entre into the kyngdom of heuen. And moreover I saye vnto you: it is casyer for a camel to go through the eye of a nedle / then for a ryche mā to entre into the kyngdom of heuen. When hys disciples herde that / they were exceedingly amased / sayinge: who then can be saved? Jesus behelde them / and sayde vnto them: with men thys ys vnpossyble / but with god all thingʒ are possyble.

* Selues. The thryde chastite muste be gostly vnderstōd that ys to say volu / nari chastite / or els hyr were all wone with the seconde / which is outwarde i the flesshe

¶ Good. As Christ speaketh Jo. viij my doctrine ys nott my doctrine / even so sayich he here / y am not good / for he speaketh of his humanite / where with he ever leedeth vs too god.

* Perfectnes is properly the keynge of godʒ cōmaundmētʒ therefore hit appiereth evidently / that this man hadde not fulfilled goddes cōmaundmētʒ grou / noly / as he yet sup / posed. ⁊ that Christ declareth when he putterth forthe vnto hym the right wo / rke off the cōmaund /

Mat. r.
Lu. viij.

Mat. r.
Luc. rviij.

Mat. x.
lu. xviiiij.

Then answered peter / and sayde to hym: Beholde we ha-
ve forsaken all / and have folowed the: what shall we have
therefore? Jesus sayde unto them: verely I saye unto you/that
ye/which have folowed me in the seconde generacion (when
the sonne off man shall syt in the seate of his maieste) shall
syt also vppon xij. seatz/and iudge the xij. trybz of israhel.
And whosoever forsaketh housse/or brethren/or systers/other
father /or mother/or wyse/or chyl dren/or lypelod / for my
names sake/ the same shall receave an hundred foolde / and
shall inheryt everlastinge lyfe. Many that be fyrst/shalbe last
and the laste/shalbe fyrst.

ment / and utdgeth
that none of the ri-
che men cā be saved
of whose nobrethis
yonge mā was/ yet
shall all they be safe
thar kepe godz cō-
maundmentz.

The xx. Chapter.



Of the kyngdom of heven is
lyfe vnto an housholder which went out erly in
the mornyng to hyre laborers in to his vyne
yarde. And he agreed with the laborerz for a pe-
ny adaye / and sent the in to his vnyarde. And he wēt out
aboute the third houre / and sawe other stondinge ydle in the
market place / and saide vnto them: go ye also in to my vyne
yarde / and whatsoever ys right / I wyll geve you. and they
went there waye. Agayne he went ont about the vi. and ix.
houre / and dyd lyk wyse. And he went out about the eleventh
houre and founde other stondinge ydell / and saide vnto them
why stonde ye here all the daye ydel? they saide vnto hym: be
cause no man hath hyred vs. He saide to them: go ye also in
to my vyne yarde / and whatsoever shalbe ryght / that shall
ye receave.

When even was come / the lorde of the vyne yarde / saide
vnto his stewarde: call the laborerz / and geve them there hy-
re / begynnynge att the last tyll thou come to the fyrst. And
they which were hyred about the .xi. houre / cam and recea-
ved every man a peny. Them cam the fyrst / supposinge that
they shulde receave more / and they lyke wise receaved every
man a peny. And when they had receaved hit / they grud-
ged agaynst the good man off the housse / sayinge: These

Sevē a clocke wi-
th vs ys one with
the iewes / 2 ix. is iij.
xij: is vi / iij. att after
none is ix / 2 v. is xi.
with them / ad vi. is
eventyde.

B ij

The gospell of

laste have wrought but won honre/and thou haste made them
equall vnto vs which have boorne the burthen and heate of
the daye.

By this similitude
maye ye perceave th/
at no similitude ser/
vech throught out/
but sū one thyng cō
reyned ī the similit/
ude. As this lōge pa
rable pteyneth butte
here vnto/that we/
rke holy shall despi/
se wecke synners/
which same werke
holy shall not there
have ther rewarde
as these which co/
me fyrste have here
butte shall be reiecte ⁊
put awaye/ becau/
se they chalenge hit
of meritt ⁊ note of
mercy ⁊ grace.

*The cuppe signifi
ceth the crosse/ ⁊ su/
ffering: but the fle/
she wolde be glori/
fied yer then crucif/
ied/ wolde be exal/
ted ⁊ lifte vp an hye
yer the cast doune.

¶ He answered to won of them/ sayinge: frende I do the no
wronge. dydest thou not agre with me for a peny? Take that
which is thy durie/ and go thy waye. I wyll geve vnto thys
laste/ asmoche as to the. ys it not lawfull for me to do as me
lysteth/ with myne awne? Ys thyne eye evyll be cause I am
good? So the laste shall be fyrst/ and the fyrst shall be laste.
For many are called/ and fewe be chosen.

¶ And Iesus ascended to hierusalē/ and toke the xij. disciples
aparte in the waye/ and saideto them: lo we go vppe to hier
usalem/ and the sonne of man shall be betrayed vnto the che
se prest ⁊ vnto the seryb ⁊/ and thy shall condemne hym
to deeth/ and shall delyver hym to the gentyle/ to be mocked/
to be scourged/ and to be crucified: and the iij. daye he shall
ryse agayne.

¶ Then cam to hym the mother of zebedeis chyldrē with her
sones/ worshyppige him/ ⁊ desirige a certayne thinge of him.
he saide vnto her: what wylt thou have? She saide vnto him:
graunte that these my two sonnes maye sytt/ won on thy ri
ght honde/ and the other on thy lyfte honde in thy kyngdom.
Iesus answered/ ⁊ saide: ye wot not what ye axe. Are ye able
to drinke of the *cuppe that I shall drife of? And to be bapty
sed with the baptyim/ that I shall be bapty sed with? They an
swered to hym: that we are. He saide vnto them: ye shall dri
nke of my cuppe/ and shall be bapty sed with the baptyim that
I shall be bapty sed with all. But to syt on my ryght honde/ or
on my lyfte honde/ ys not myne to yeve you: but to them for
whom yt is prepayred of my fater.

¶ And whē the x. herdethis/ they desdayned att the ij. breth
ren. But Iesus called them vnto hym/ and saide: Ye knowe/
that the lord of the gentyls have domination over the/ And
they that are greate/ exercise power over them. Yt shall not
be so amonge you: But whosoever wylbe greate amōge you/
let him be youre mister/ and whosoever wylbe chefe/ lett hym
be youre servaunt. Even as the sonne of man cam/ not to be

Mat. r.
lu. xvij.

Mat. r.
Lu. riiij.

mistred vnto/ but to minister: and to geve hys lyfe for the redemption of many.

Bar. x
lu. xvij. ¶ And as they departed from hierico/ moche people folowed him. And beholde/ ij. blynde mē sittige by the way syde / whē they herde/ that Iesus passed by/ cryed sayinge: Master the * sone of dauid have mercy on vs. And the people rebuked thē/ be cause they shulde holde there peace: But they cryed the moare/ sayinge: have mercy on vs master which arte the sone of dauid. Thē Iesus stode styll/ and called them/ and said: what wyll yethat I shall do to you? they saide vnto hym: master/ that oure eyes maye be opened. Iesus peryed thē/ and touchēd there eyes. and immediatly there eyes receaved syght: And they folowed hym.

Redeme/ is to deli-
ver out off bondage

* Sone of dauid.
As many as called
hym sone of dauid/
beleved that he w^s
as very messias th^s
at grece pphete pro-
mysed off god/ whi-
ch shulde come and
redeme israhell/ for
it was promised that
messias shuld be da-
vids sone.

The xxi. Chapter.

Bar. xi.
Luc. ix.
Iho. xij.
zaca. ix. ¶ **W**hen they drewe nye vnto hierusalem/ and were come to betphage/ vnto mounte olivete/ thē sent Iesus ij. of his disciples/ sayinge to them: Go into the tounce that lyeth over agaynste you/ and anon ye shall fynde an asse bounde/ and her colt with her/ lose them and brynge them vnto me. And if any man saye ought vnto you/ saye ye that youre master hath neede of them/ and streyght waye he wyll let thē go. All thys was donne/ to fulfyll that which was spoken by the prophet/ sayinge: tell ye the doughter of sion: beholde thy kynge cometh vnto the meke/ sittinge vppō an asse and a colte/ the soole of an asse vsed to the yooke. The disciples wēt/ and dyd as Iesus commaunded them/ and brought the asse and the colte / and put on thē there clothes/ and set hym there on. Many of the people spredde there garmētts in the waye. other eut donne braūches from the trees/ and sirawed them in the waye. More over the people that wēt before/ z they also that cā after cryed sayinge: Hosiāna to the some of dauid. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the lorde/ hosianna in the heyst.

¶ And when he was come in to hierusalem/ all the cite was

¶ Hosiaña is as
moch to sey as och
helppe/ or och geve
good lucke z healtz.

The Gospell of

moved/sayinge: who art thou? And the people saide: this ys
 Iesus the prophet of nazareth a cite of galile. And Iesus went
 in to the temple of god / and caste out all the that bought and
 solde in the temple/ And overthrew the tables of the mony
 chaungers/and the seats of the that solde doves. And saide to
 the: it is written/myne housse shalbe called the housse of pra- Esa. lvi.
 yer/but ye have made it a den of theues. And the blynde and
 the halt ca to hym in the temple / and he healed them.

¶ When the chese preestys and scribes sawe the marveylls
 that he dyd / and the chyldren crying in the temple and say-
 inge/hosianna to the sonne of dauid/they desdayned/and say-
 de vnto hym: herest thou what these saye? Iesus saide vnto psal. viij.
 them: have ye never reed/of the mouth of babby and sucke-
 linge thou haste ordened prayse? And he leste them/and went
 out of the cite vnto bethany/and passed the tyme there.

¶ In the mornynge as he returned in to the cite ageyne / he 2Bar.
ri.
 huugred/and spyed a fygge tree in the waye/and ca to it/and
 founde nothinge there on/but leues only/and said to it / never
 frute growe vnto the hence forwardy. And and the fygge tree
 wyddred a waye. And whē hys disciples sawe that/ they mar-
 velled sayinge: Howe scone is the fygge tree wyddred awa-
 ye? Iesus answered/and saide vnto them: Verely I saye vnto
 you/yf ye shall have faith/and shall not dout/ye shall not on-
 ly do that which ye have done to the fygge tree: but also yf ye
 shall saye vnto this mountayne/ take thy silfe a waye/and cast
 thy selfe in to the see/it shalbe done. And what soever thige ye
 shall axe in youre prayers yf ye beleve/ye shall receave hit.

¶ And when he was come into the temple/the chese preestys
 the seniorys of the people ca vnto hym as he was teachynge/
 and saide: by what auctorite doest thou these thigs? and who 2Bar.
ri
Luc. xx.
 gaveth the this power? Iesus answered/and saide vnto the: I
 also wyll axe of you a certayne questio/which yf ye asoyle me/
 y in lyke wyse wyll tell you by what auctorite I do these thin-
 gs. Whence was the bapty of Jhon? from heaven / or of men?
 And they thought in the selves/sayinge: yf we shall saye/from
 heve/he wyll saye vnto vs: why dyd ye not them beleve him?
 but and yf we shall saye of me / then feare we the people. For

all men helde Ihon as a prophet. And they answered Iesus/ and saide: we cannot tell. He lyfe wyse saide vnto the: nether tell I you by what auctorite I do these things. Wat saye ye to thys: a certayne mā had ij. sonnes/ and cā to the elder sayinge: go and worke to daye in my vyne yarde. he answered and sayd: I wyll nor: but afterwarde repented and went. Then cam he to the seconde/ and saide lyfe wise/ and he answered 2 sayde: I wyll syr: yet went he not. Whydder of these ij. fulfyled there fathers wyll? And they saide vnto hym/ the fyrst. Iesus saide vnto them: verely y saye vnto you/ that the publicās and the harlots shall come into the kyngdom of god before you. *

For Ihon cam vnto you/ in the waye of righte wesnes/ and ye beleved hym not. But the publicās and the whoores beleved hym. But ye (though ye sawe it) yet were nott moved with repentance / that ye myght afterwarde have beleved hym.

Mat. **H**erken another similitude. There was a certayne householder/ whych set a vyneyarde/ and hedged it rounde about/ r ij. and made a vyn presse in it/ and bylte a tower/ and lette it out to husbandmen / and went in to a straunge countre. And Luc xx. when the tyme of the frute drewe neare/ he sent his seruants to the husbandmē/ to receave the frute of it/ and the husbandmen caught his seruants / and bet wen / fylled another/ stoned another. Agayne he sent other seruants mee then the fyrst / and they serued them lyfe wyse. But last off all/ he sent vnto them hys awnesonne/ sayinge: they wyll feare my sonne. When the husbandmen sawe hys sonne / they sayde amonge them selues: Thys ys the heyre/ come on lett vs kyll him / and lett vs take hys inherytaunce / to oure selues. And they caught hym and thrust hym out off the vyneyarde / and shlewe hym. When the lorde off the vyneyarde commeth : what wyll he do with those husbandmen? They sayde vnto hym: he wyll evyll destroye those evyll persons/ and wyll let out hys vyneyarde vnto other husbandmen / whych shall delyver hym hys frute att tymes convenient.

psal. **J**esus saide vnto them: dyd ye never reede in the scriptur/ croū. the same stone which the bylders refused/ is set i the princy/

* Ihon taught the very waye vnto righte wesnes: For he interpreted the lawe right/ and dampned man 2 all his dedes 2 righte wesnes / and drave mē vnto Christ/ to seke true righte wesnes/ thorough mercy obteyned in hys bloude.

The gospell of

all parte of the corner. this was the lordes doinge/and yt ys marvelous in oure eyes. Therfore saye I vnto you/the kyngdom of god shalbe taken from you/and shalbe geve to the gentyls which shall brynge forth the frutes of it. And whosoever shall *fall on thys stone/shalbe alto broken. And whosoever this stond shall fall oppon/he shall grynde hym to powder. And when the chiefe preestf and pharyses herde his similitudes they perceaved that he spake of them. And they went about to laye hondf on hym/but they feared the people / because they counted hym as a prophet. And Jesus answered and spake vnto them agayne/in similitudes/sayinge.

* Fall. All must fall or stöble at Christ/ some to there saluacion/ some to there damnacion.

The xxii. Chapter.



The kyngdom of heven is ly^{Luc.} / ^{xxiiij.}

ke vnto a certayne kyng/which maryed his sonne/and sent forth hys seruauntf/ to call the that were byd to the weddinge/and they wolde not come. Ageyne he sent forth other seruauntf/sayinge: tell them which are bydden: Lo I have prepared my dynner/inyne oxen and my satlings are fylled/and allthings are redy/come vnto the maryage. They made light of it/and wēt there was: won to his ferme place/ another about his merchandyse. thercinnaunt toke his seruauntf/and intreated them vngoodly/and slewe them. When the kyng herdethat / he was wroth/and sent forth his warryers and distroyed those murderers/ and brent vppe there cite.

¶ Then saide he to his seruauntf: The weddinge was prepared: but they which were bydden thereto / were not worthy. Go ye therefore out into the hie ways/and as many as ye fynde/byd them to the mariage. The seruauntf went out in to the wayes/and gaddred togedder as many as they coulde fynde/booth good and bad/and the weddinge was surmysshed with gestic. The kyng cam in/to viset hys gestic / and spyed there a man which had not on a weddinge garment/ and sayde vnto hym; frēde/howe camyft thou in hydder/and

Har
xxij.
Luc. xi.

IN MATTHAEVUM

De gloria et honore filij hominis LIBRI XIII.

DE GLORIFICATI-

one Trinitatis et processione spiritus sancti LIBRI IX.



¶ Apud felicem Coloniam Anno salutis.
M, D, XXVI. Aeditio prima.

